

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the label opposite your name.  
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed

VOL. XIII, No. 19.

## ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION

### THAT PROVES THE LABOR FAKIR A CAPITALIST TOOL.

The News Comes From McKeesport that Shaffer and Powell are manipulating their unions in warring conflicts between Trust and Independent Mills.

McKeesport, Pa., July 25.—Union men here are being treated to as bold an exhibition of fakirism as one can well imagine. It is all part of a move by the American Tinplate Company to cripple the McKeesport Tinplate Company, which is an independent concern.

The first public appearance of "unionism" in the conflict between the two concerns was on Wednesday, July 15, when the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Iron and Tinworkers, through its chief fakir, Theodore Shaffer, called a strike in the mills of the independent company. The strike was made the ostensible purpose of gaining "recognition of the union." The McKeesport mills were only started about three months ago, and were supposed to be, so far as unionism is concerned, on the same footing as the Demmeler mills of the tinplate trust. That is, the men were hired with the understanding that the mill was open to union and non-union men alike, though the Amalgamated scale of wages was to be paid.

As I said before, the first public appearance of the union in the conflict between the trust and the independent concern was the declaration of the strike, but it was about three or four weeks ago that the first move was really made by the Shaffer gang. Some of the "union" men were gotten together with the intention of organizing a local. The company at once fell into the trap and discharged some of those identified with the work of "organization." Incompetence was the excuse given by the manager of the mill.

Then a committee of the union waited upon the mill management and demanded the reinstatement of the men discharged. The company refused to recognize the "union" committee, claiming that the mill is an open one. Some more men were fired because they broke the "agreement" they had entered into when they started to work.

It is hinted at by many here that Shaffer is in the pay of the trust, and is using his union to aid the trust in its work of crippling the independent mills. In fact, the McKeesport Herald in its issue of July 17, said: "Some ugly stories are being circulated, which if true entitle the strikers to some sympathy. It is said that the American Tinplate Company is a factor in the trouble in an effort to cripple the new independent mill. In this case the imputation would be most heavily upon President Shaffer."

In talking to the strikers' Manager Lauck called attention to the fact that good union men are permitted by Shaffer to work in mills which the association has on the blacklist. This is true, but the mills are trust mills. The strikers acknowledge that conditions in the mills of the McKeesport Tinplate Company are as good if not better than in the trust mills. In a statement given out by the mill management it is stated that while they paid the Amalgamated scale they never had that scale presented to them by the union.

On July 1 another fakir showed up at the scene of the strike; this one an effort to cripple the new independent mill. He is President Powell, of the Tinworkers' International Protective Association. He presented the scale that governs the tin house, but the managers of the mill asked for time until the present difficulty is settled. Under the circumstances Powell said he would not press the matter nor call out the men.

Some claim that Powell's actions are due to the personal enmity between him and Shaffer, they not having spoken to each other since 1901. Be this as it may, it is at any rate a grand demonstration of union fraternalism! Surely these things must open the eyes of some of the dupes of both "leaders."

Another instance of Shaffer's dirty work has come to the writer's notice. In Canonsburg there is a mill formerly operated by the trust, but now by an independent concern; and which pays the union scale. About two months ago Shaffer called the men out on strike for mill, both trust concerns, the same conditions prevail, and there is no kick by Shaffer and his gang for "recognition."

Shaffer's latest move against the McKeesport mill is a threat to proceed against them under the anti-discrimination law, but the trust can discriminate as it pleases and no protest from Shaffer.

But then Shaffer and some of the trust men belong to Hanna's Civic Federation, you know.

So far as can be learned no provision has been made for financing the strike, though Shaffer says that "the Amalgamated will spend every cent in its treasury, if necessary, to carry on the fight." I hope the exposure of the infamous tactics of these misleaders of labor will open the eyes of those who have followed them blindly like a lot of sheep. F. A. S.

### MORAL COURAGE.

It is an Indispensable Qualification of a Revolutionist.

We find many apparently well-meaning people of the professional class who eloquently portray the evils that capitalism inflicts upon the worker, but when it comes to taking a stand against capitalism these gentlemen usually quail. A case in point is the recent experience of an S. L. P. man, who, on reading an account of Southern mill conditions in a capitalist paper, sent to the writer thereof a copy of The Daily People, containing an article on the subject and a letter inviting him to contribute to this paper a full account of the evils as they exist. The person addressed answered as follows:

"Dear Sir—  
"I am much obliged to you for your kindly letter and I shall try to send a letter to The Daily People very soon, or rather to you, for the paper. I realize quite keenly that the evils of the cotton mill can be remedied finally only by the destruction of the system that makes possible the selfish spirit in which they are run, but I feel that every law that gives a child a better grasp on living is a step toward this and not a means of making the old system more secure. For that reason the aid of even so conservative a paper as the Evening Post is to be valued."

"Sincerely yours,

No article was forthcoming, but the gentleman's conscience must have been troubling him, for some time later he again addressed our comrade to this effect:

"Dear Sir—  
"You may recall the fact that I wrote you that I would send a letter to The Daily People concerning conditions in the cotton mill here, and I feel that I owe you an explanation though I much fear that it will be impossible for me to make the matter clear."

"My knowledge of the mill was gained from teaching a volunteer night school for the children, and my knowledge of the type, before the mill has influenced it, came from a residence of several years in the Tennessee mountains. The night school that I taught worked under such difficulties that I went before the School Board with just such facts as I sent to the . . . and persuaded that body to establish a public night school in the mill district. When the mill officers here read my letter to the . . . they took it to one of their "bosses," a man raised out of the mass of the mill folk for the purpose of giving them the watching that no one else could or would give them, and this "boss" has endeavored to twist that letter, written to defend the mill people from the attack of another paper, into an attack on the mill people themselves. Since I have bound myself up, to a certain extent, think that the interest you manifested by writing to me was not appreciated."

"Very sincerely yours,

All of which goes to prove the truth of the adage that he who would be free himself must strike the blow. Others may give a lift but the real work of emancipation depends on the proletariat. Only these can have the moral courage necessary for the ordeal and they have nothing to lose but everything to gain.

### PATERSON, ATTENTION!

Regular meeting of Section Passaic County will be held at Helvetia, on Van Houten street, Tuesday, August 11, at 8 o'clock p. m. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Candidates are to be nominated for county offices at this meeting.

Edward Gilmore, Organizer.

### LYON IN PATERSON, N. J.

Frank D. Lyon will address an open-air campaign meeting of the Socialist Labor Party to be held on Monday, August 10, at 8 o'clock p. m., corner Main and Van Houten streets.

Members and sympathizers are invited to attend this meeting.

### NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

The next meeting of the New Jersey State Executive Committee will be held at the headquarters of Section Hoboken, corner Fourth and Garden streets, Hoboken, on Sunday, August 9, 1903, at 2:30 p. m.

George P. Herrschaff,

Secretary.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Terms—25 cents for six months, 50 cents for one year. Address the Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

## CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

### ITS INFLUENCE ON THE UPWARD MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS.

Impossible to Eradicate It When It Has Once Taken Hold—Through It Comes the Power of Solidarity and Stamina for Revolt

The uplifting of the working class from its degradation is an inevitable and, natural process; but the process is neither a peaceful nor a uniform one. The tendencies of the capitalist system of production are to debasement the working population. The moral new birth of the workers is possible only by antagonizing these tendencies and their promoters, the capitalists, and this can be done only by imparting sufficient strength to the counter tendencies that are born of the new conditions in the camp of the working class itself, the conditions under which the worker toils and lives.

The debasing tendencies of the capitalist system are, however, very different at different periods, in different localities, and in different industries; they depend upon the condition of the market, upon the degree of competition among the several establishments, upon the grade reached in the development of machinery in the respective branches sure of the clearness with which the capitalists understand their own class interests, etc., etc.

Likewise do the counter tendencies that develop in the several layers of the proletariat depend upon manifold circumstances; they depend, in turn, upon the customs and wants of the population from whose ranks the class of the proletariat has been recruited, upon the degree of skill or strength required in the respective industries; upon the extent to which woman and child labor prevails; upon the size of the industrial reserve army, which is very different in several industries; upon the clearness with which the working people perceive their class interests; and lastly upon the nature of the work, whether it isolates or brings the workers together.

Each of these several sets of circumstances in the several industries and subdivisions of the working class vary not only greatly, but they are subject to constant changes owing to the uninterrupted course of the technical and economic revolution in the production. Every day capital subjects some new section of the country and some new branch of industry to its process of exploitation and reduces the respective population to the level of proletarians; every day new branches of industry spring into life, and existing ones are revolutionized.

The spectacle presented at the inception of the capitalist system of production is seen to-day. Even now new layers of the population are thrown into the class of the working proletariat, others sink below the slums, and others again rise above the lowest grades; among the working proletarians themselves there is a constant flux and reflux noticeable; some portions are seen to rise, others to decline, according as the uplifting or the depressing tendencies may temporarily have the upper hand.

Fortunately, however, for the cause of human rejuvenation, a time is reached, sooner or later, by most of the layers of the working class, when the uplifting tendencies obtain a decided mastery, and when they are effective enough to awaken in some section or another of the proletariat a consciousness of self, a consciousness of the solidarity of all its members and of the whole working class, a consciousness of power that is born of their close union.

Soon soon as any portion of the working class of any portion of the world of the fact that its class is an indispensable economic element in society; so soon as the sense of self-respect is kindled in its ranks; so soon as it arrives at the conviction that a brighter future is in store for its class and that its emancipation depends upon itself; so soon as any portion of the working class has risen high enough in the understanding of its situation and its mission, then is its influence bound to pervade its whole class, and it becomes difficult to push it back into the level of those degraded beings, who are able to hate but not to hold out together in a prolonged struggle; who, despairing of their future, seek to forget their misery in debauch; and who have not the stamina for revolt, but are fit only for abject submission.

It is next to impossible to eradicate the class consciousness out of that portion of the working class where it has once taken hold. However strongly the debasing influence of the capitalist system may make itself felt, they may be,

able to push down such a portion of the working class economically, but never morally, provided always the pressure brought to bear by capitalism upon the class conscious workers will have the effect of producing a counter pressure; it will not debasement, but embitter; it will not degrade the worker to the ignominy of the slums, it will raise him to the dignity of martyrdom.

### A NEW PASTURE

For Troy's Fakirism—Goddess of Chance to Wear "Label."

Troy, N. Y., Aug. 2.—Local fakirism has sought pastures new by boycotting those necessary plague spots of capitalism known as gambling hells, so that in the future we may expect to see that when the wage slave with that surplus he has saved above that prosperity exists that he is at present enjoying, "label" or an A. F. of L. card, showing that they are running a "fair game," before he risks his easy money obtained from some humane boss who furnishes him with work because he loves him so.

The trouble was started by cute little Jimmie Connell, who has again organized the Meat Cutters' Union, after having busted it several times. The last cause of its collapse was a difference of \$25 between the committee in charge of a ball held for the benefit of the union and cute Jimmie for tickets sold by him. Jimmie refused to give up, and the union disappeared; but as Jimmie receives \$10 for reorganizing, he is away to the good at present.

Connell, to prove his "unionism" to the new organization, demanded that his boss display a union card in his window, and, on refusal, quit his job for the better one of living in the union. He then had the A. F. of L. boycott put on the place; but, as the butcher was selling a little cheaper than the rest of his competitors, the prosperous wage slave kept patronizing the unfair shop.

The boycott being ineffective, other means were necessary to bring the defiant butcher of the Holy of Holies to terms; and, as it is rumored that the butcher was backing a gambling game, the mighty A. F. of Hell saw a light, met, resolute and appointed a committee to investigate. They whereased "That, as they understood that a man who was conducting an unfair butcher shop was also interested in a fair gambling game, therefore the authorities should be notified of the fact and that a punishment should be devised to fit both the crime of conducting an unfair butcher shop as well as running a fair gambling joint." Up to date the butcher shop and the gambling hell are still running, with odds in favor of the idea that both will last longer than that invincible body, the A. F. of Hell.

There has been one point that the local fakirs allowed to escape them. To their astonishment, it was brought to their notice by the expose of the building trades in New York. Troy had no similar organization; but "better late than never," and the deficiency was to be overcome by the organization of a trades assembly; but, alas! for the best laid plans for "union and graft," the Painters' Union refused to have anything to do with it, as they consider themselves the aristocracy of labor here. They have won every strike of late years, not only against the bosses, but also against the advice of their national secretary, who came last year to settle the difficulty and advised them to arbitrate, but was turned down, and the strike easily won. The result is that the painters are troubled with a swelled head and think they can stand alone, without the aid of the other unions.

The Civic League, created for the purpose of instructing the ignorant Federationist how to vote, is not dead, but sleeping. After nominating one Manning for Mayor the Civic Leaguers retired to their den awaiting for something to turn up from either of the capitalist parties (the Kongs not included, as the Leaguers held there is not enough of room for both to make expenses on one ticket). As the politicians of both sides have had their eye teeth cut in regard to labor politics of the Federation brand, the outlook for the Civic League is, to say at the least, very dubious.

### SECTIONS OF GREATER BOSTON, TAKE NOTICE.

The Greater Boston Entertainment Committee will hold its next meeting on Sunday, August 9, at Lynn Headquarters, 20 Munrow street, at 1 o'clock sharp.

All sections of Greater Boston should have a delegate on this committee to represent them. We shall have plenty of work to do for the coming outing, which is to take place on Sunday, August 23, and all comrades should take hold and help to make it a success.  
Chas. H. Chabot, Secretary.

## THAT "PARADISE"

### AUSTRALIA TAKES DRASTIC MEASURES AGAINST STRIKERS.

Debate Cut Off in Parliament to Rush Through a Bill Which Renders Participation in the Strike Summarily Punishable by Imprisonment and Fine.

Australia has often been called the paradise of the workingman; just the kind of paradise it is, the following will show. It will also show of what benefit to the workers is State ownership of railroads under the capitalist State.

The State of Victoria, like those of all the Australian States, are the property of the capitalist government.

The railway employees are public servants and as such are expressly debarred by a service regulation from affiliating themselves with any political association. But the conditions of labor on the roads being so bad the Trades Hall, a union organization and headquarters of the "labor" party, thinking the time opportune for a trial of strength, determined to bring the railway men into line, and recently called upon them to enroll themselves.

When the engine drivers announced their intention of coming into line and affiliating with the Trades Hall, the Government promptly forbade them, on the grounds that they were debarred by the service regulations and that the State recognized no executive authority other than its own over its employees. But the engine drivers insisted and the Government stood firm. Either its employees must conform with the service regulations or they must leave the service, which meant, incidentally, the forfeiting of pensions.

The engine drivers threatened to strike and Mr. Irvine, the Premier of Victoria, at once announced that under no circumstances could he give way. If it was to be a fight it should be to a finish.

It was threatened that the whole body of railway employees would follow the engine drivers out. With the prospect of all traffic indefinitely tied up, the mail service disorganized and the city of Melbourne's food supply cut off, the Trades Hall thought that it had the government at its mercy. But, as Mr. Irvine had announced, it was to be a fight to a finish.

At midnight on May 7 the engine drivers quit work. Ten drivers only remained loyal and they were promptly put to work next morning to instruct the volunteers who came forward.

The professor of engineering at Melbourne University offered his services to instruct temporary drivers in the management of their engines, or to drive an engine himself if necessary. And the University also sent 150 of her students as special constables to "protect" non-union workers. A few trains were slowly and with great difficulty despatched; the European and interstate mails were carried by water, and every effort was made to deal with the heavy suburban traffic with cable cars and every vehicle available.

For a while there was chaos. Here came the opportunity of the Premier's career.

"Icicle" Irvine, as his opponents call him, is a man of 45 or so, moderately successful as a lawyer, but with no conspicuous qualities as a debater. It was as a protest against Trades Hall domination that he had been returned by the country with an effective working majority.

Mr. Irvine promptly called a special session of Parliament, and, dispensing with the "tedious" formality of an address-in-reply debate, got right down to "business."

He introduced a Strike Suppression bill, by which participation in the strike was rendered summarily punishable by a year's imprisonment and a fine of \$500. Any gathering of four persons or more could be dealt with in the discretion of the police as a riotous assembly, and full power was given to seize and destroy all printed matter favorable to the strikers and condemnatory of the Government.

The "labor" members stonewalled the bill during an all night sitting, but they lacked class-consciousness. By the following morning it became obvious to them that, with the exception of their own party, the others in the State were in sympathy with the Government.

Crowds surrounded the Houses of Parliament and paraded the streets, cheering the Premier and the Ministry. Meanwhile the Ministry was pressing the bill, and so manifestly was "public" feeling with it that on May 15 the nine days' strike came to an end as dramatic

as it was abrupt. After a short and stormy meeting at the Trades Hall the engine drivers surrendered unconditionally.

Fears of the Premier's bill, which they complained of as "very drastic," was the reason given by the strike leaders for their collapse.

This is not the only high-handed action against labor by Australian capitalists. Recently, in case after case, the Shearers' Union has been cast in heavy damages for offenses committed by its members in the shearers' strike of last year; and in some instances the union has paid the woolgrower in full for all the damage he suffered rather than go to trial.

Australian workmen must have a queer idea of a paradise.

### NOT THEORISTS.

The S. L. P. a Thoroughly Practical Organization.

Under capitalism, the social system that rules to-day, it is inevitable that the wealth of the nation pass into fewer and fewer hands. Owing the wealth of the nation, it follows that the wealthy class will also wield the whole power of the nation to keep the rest of us subject to their will. The private ownership of the nation by a few of the machinery of production needed by all is the source from which flow all the social ills now pressing upon us. The Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance demand the removal of the cause. Freedom and happiness, we maintain, cannot be general without man owns the tools he needs to work with and the land to work on. Because these tools are so gigantic, that even under capitalism they can only be co-operatively operated, we demand that they be collectively owned, so that those who co-operate in the working shall co-operatively enjoy the benefit of their combined effort.

With this is not a question of like or dislike, it is one of imperative necessity. The workers must overthrow the capitalist class or go down into greater degradation and slavery under the dominion of that class.

We are not theorists but practical men. We have organized to bring about the much needed revolution, and we strive to capture the political power of the nation in order to carry out our programme. Every intelligent workingman who agrees with the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. should enroll in the ranks of the party. By giving the strength of your support to the movement, not only by your vote but by every means in your power, you will help hasten the day of your emancipation.

The Socialist movement is gathering strength because the logic of events is day by day confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the S. L. P. in the face of bitter opposition, not alone from capitalism, but from the so-called organization of labor as well. Conviction and unflinching determination, backed by clear-cut propaganda, is sure to win. We do not beg for our rights, we battle aggressively for them.

Join us in the work of educating and organizing.

### "MOTHER" JONES' MARCH.

The Real Purpose for Which It Was Undertaken.

Faterson, N. J., Aug. 1.—It may be that I have overlooked it, but in reading the "Volkszeitung" I have failed to see any account of the freak things done by "Mother" Jones on her march to Oyster Bay to see "Father" Roosevelt. "Mother" Jones on her march, though she generally rode, has outfreaked anything done by Cossey or Carl Brovne. In listening to her talks one cannot find that she has even the faintest conception of Socialism, yet the Kangaroo Social Democratic outfit, from Philadelphia to New York, have practically endorsed her and her antics and have held meetings in conjunction with her.

Like the proprietor of the Coney Island annual show, who got her to exhibit herself among his animals, the Kongs thought "Mother" Jones would prove a good drawing card. Both were disappointed. I have noticed of late that the working class is showing some self-respect, and I take it as a healthful sign when they shun their self-seekers, who caricature the working class movement.

One of the reasons given why "Father" Roosevelt would not receive "Mother" Jones is that he had received word that the whole thing was gotten up by a Philadelphia newspaper, in the hope of restoring its influence with the Pennsylvania textile workers. It is said that two years ago this Philadelphia paper attacked the character and motives of certain textile workers in the Kensington district, and as a result got the ill-will of the workers in that trade.

Color is given to the story by the fact that instead of making her march direct to Oyster Bay, if any good was to be accomplished there, "Mother" Jones left the direct line—as, for instance, when she came to this city. It was noticed while in Faterson that "Mother" Jones

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.  
Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

PRICE TWO CENTS

## "CAUSE OF LABOR"

### RISES IN IMPORTANCE AS 'FRISCO'S PRIMARIES APPROACH.

Schmitz Likely to Disappear From the Political Horizon—The "Socialist" Party's Constitution Accommodates Fusion—Strikes and Boycotts Go Merrily On

San Francisco, July 27.—The San Francisco primary election is to be held August 11, and, as that date approaches, the "cause of labor" rises in importance. The Schmitz faction of the Union Labor Party, which was re-organized officially by the Election Commissioners, has been thrown out by Judge Murasky, of the Superior Court, and the petition of the Casey faction has been accepted.

The Mayor's legal advisors immediately filed a notice of appeal to the Supreme Court, knowing that body would not be likely to sit until after the primaries, in which case the decision of the commissioners would hold good at the polls. The Election Commissioners, however, promptly held a special meeting, resumed their former act, and re-organized the other side of the controversy; so unless the adherents of Schmitz can manage to capture the primaries (a very improbable supposition) the great labor mayor is likely to disappear from the political horizon as suddenly as he appeared therein. The split in the Republican ranks and the throwing out of Boss Kelly and his gang is likely to rebound to the advantage of the U. L. P. as it did in the somewhat similar situation of the last election.

The antics of the so-called Socialist Party are rather social than political just now. Its fusion element, having been denied the right of membership in San Francisco, stepped lightly over the line into San Mateo County and joined a local there. Their state committee, having decided that this action was in accordance with their constitution, the San Francisco local proceeded in a proper and legal manner to amend said constitution so as to make such action unconstitutional. The point at issue now is as to whether or not the amendment affects the past so as to throw the San Francisco members of San Mateo local entirely out of the party.

With the city election in sight, the strikes and boycotts go merrily on. The report that the linemen of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company were about to give in was a mistake. The linemen are holding out all along the coast. They have lately declared a boycott against the company, and are going about among the small business firms trying to persuade them to order out their phones. The lines are getting tangled and many phones are out of order. The citizens are losing patience, and it looks now as if the linemen would win.

Influenced by the political excitement, the Carmen's Court of Arbitration drags wearily along. The Eastern railroad corporation is not likely to be much affected by a local election here, and as things are going now it seems probable that the carmen will gain nothing; in which case the good citizens of San Francisco will probably enjoy another period of pedestrian exercise.

The grand aim of this adviser in chief was to arrange for an interview with the President for "Mother" Jones. According to report, it was the newspaper correspondent who dictated "Mother" Jones' letter to "Father" Roosevelt, asking him to receive herself and her army at Sagamore Hill. An interview was to be had at any cost, but "Mother" Jones did not see "Father" Roosevelt.

I have been told that the Philadelphia paper has had columns of nice things to say about "Mother" Jones and her army. I hope the paper has been as successful in restoring its credit with the textile workers as "Mother" Jones was in seeing the President.

S. L. P.

### Special Fund

(As per circular letter of Sept., 1901.)  
Previously acknowledged.....\$7,350.92  
A. Fredericks, Brooklyn..... 2.00  
Wesman, Brooklyn..... 2.00  
H. Levitz, Brooklyn..... 1.00  
J. Andrews, Seventh Assembly District, Brooklyn..... 1.00  
Conrad Fischer, City..... 3.00  
Wm. Daniels, City..... .50  
A. S. City..... .50  
Socialist Labor Club, Brooklyn..... 1.50  
B. Sweet, Brooklyn..... 1.00  
Seventh A. D. Brooklyn..... 3.00  
Twenty-first A. D. Branch 1, Brooklyn..... 3.00  
F. Finkbohner, Philadelphia, Pa. 5.00  
Total.....\$7,385.42



# Story of the Subway Strike

The statement made at a recent meeting of the Central Federated Union (the Circus) by the delegate of the Italian Excavators, to the effect that the members of his union are still suffering from the same old grievance of being "paid short in their wages," on some of the sections of the Rapid Transit Subway Tunnel, brings to mind the recent desperate struggle of those same excavators and their betrayal through the vicious methods of pure and simple fakirism and the treachery of their brother unionists schooled in the "craft"-conscious methods of the American Federation of Labor, which caused their strike to end in a fizzle.

Much has been written in the columns of The Daily People on the infamous practice of making contracts with the bosses, one, two or three year agreements, which compel the unions making them to stand by the very capitalists against whom other unions are compelled to fight in their struggle for better conditions.

At the present writing the horseshoers are suffering from the contract between the brewery workers and the brewery owners, and the pipe caulkers and tappers, the teamsters, the terra cotta workers and the househousers and movers are hindered in their efforts by the existence of the agreement between the Central Federated Union and the Rapid Transit Subway contractors.

The existence of this latter agreement is what crushed the fighting spirit of the Italian rockmen and excavators, and run their aspirations into the ground.

The failure of their strike presents an instance of the vilest and most flagrant betrayal of a body of workmen driven to revolt by unbearable conditions and ready to fight unitedly for their demands, as the brave attitude of the Italians proved, and the rude dispelling of their hopes of securing a sufficient pittance to enable them to exist in at least a half-decent fashion as such things go under capitalism.

That the Italian workmen, most of whom are comparatively new to the country and to a great extent ignorant of the language, do not realize the meaning of their treatment sufficiently to prompt them to rise and throw the fakirs who betrayed them off their backs, is not to be wondered at, when one considers the depths to which the rotteness of the teachings and tactics of fakir-ridden "unionism" of the pure and simple type has reduced its members who are not of the despised "dago" element, but who think themselves superior to the so-called dagos, and are often ready to say of them as did Delegate Stanton on the floor of the Circus, that "there never was a good one of them come from a woman's breast," while at the same time willing to see good "union" men work with strike breakers while men that "there never was a good one of" were putting up a gallant fight against exploitation of the fiercest and meanest kind, such as was and is their lot upon the subway tunnel work.

A review of the events connected with this strike will no doubt be of interest to the readers of The People, and serve to furnish them with a few more points on the perfidy of the "labor lieutenants" and the viciousness of these hirelings of the capitalists in their handling of matters concerning the struggles of the working class, whom they are supposed to lead.

Early in April the Italian laborers, nearly 5,000 of whom worked on the subway and 10,000 or more upon outside contracts, became thoroughly dissatisfied with the way in which they were being treated. All were working not less than ten hours per day. Rockmen were supposed to be getting \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day and excavators from \$1.25 to \$1.50, but it was asserted, and envelopes collected to prove it, that repeated "mistakes" were being made in the payment of many, especially those who could not speak English, and that those men on finding their envelopes short and attempting to make a protest to the paymaster, were rudely pushed away by a policeman detailed for the purpose of maintaining "order" around the pay window.

Working as they were, among good pure and simple of other trades, when it was suggested to them to organize and join the great and only A. F. of H.—I, they fell an easy prey to the dues hunting fakirs of that body. The result was the formation of the Rockmen and Excavators' Unions and their affiliation with the Central Federated Union (the Circus).

The members of the new unions devised a wage scale calling for \$2.50 per day for rockmen and \$2 for excavators and an eight-hour day, to go into effect on May 1. This was presented for consideration at the C. F. U. meeting on

April 12, at which one delegate made a howl that he thought they ought to go slow in indorsing such "steep" demands on the part of "newly organized" men. After the meeting no one could say whether or not the scale had been indorsed, and at the next meeting on April 19 the matter was brought up by Herman Robinson, who declared that the impression had gone out that the C. F. U. was opposed to the demands of the excavators. A lively debate followed, in which the delegate who had objected to the scale as too "steep" to be asked for all at once, continued his objections and voted against the indorsement, which, however, was carried.

By the "agreement" existing between the subway contractors and the Central Federated Union the job is supposed to be rendered immune from strikes, all "differences" arising to be "arbitrated" through the Rapid Transit committee, composed of Delegates Pallas, of the Patternmakers, McConville of the Safety Engineers, and Holland of the Stationary Firemen. How well the contractors are safeguarded by this plan and how much of a farce it is for the workmen may be judged by the fate of the Teamsters and the Pipe Caulkers and Tappers. In the case of the former, who like the excavators were newly organized and not a party to the agreement, the men struck and were persuaded to go back "pending arbitration," and have their grievances finally adjusted at a conference to be held on June 4, the date set for the "re-adjustment" of wages scales and other matters, when they were to be made a party to the general agreement which will prevent them from striking in future. How much the arbitration meant to them was shown by the recent report of their delegate, Ryan, who on the floor of the C. F. U. denounced the Rapid Transit "agreement" as a "crack-a-jack" and one that "it would take a mighty good lawyer to understand," and he declared that the teamsters are still suffering from the same old grievances. In the case of the Pipe Caulkers, who deferred their strike in the hope of getting their scale of \$3.50 per day at the conference of July 10, the contractors held that as "half or more" of the men in that occupation are not getting that amount, it is not the "prevailing rate" of wages, and they therefore refused to pay it. The Pipe Caulkers struck to enforce it, but their "brother unionists" were unable to assist them by refusing to work with strike-breakers, because of the "contract" which must be lived up to in order to maintain the "honor" of the C. F. U. A news item of July 22 stated that the Degnan-McLean firm of contractors had succeeded in filling the places of the pipe caulkers on its section of the subway, and was no longer hampered by the strike. Great is the "solidarity" of pure and simple!

The subway contractors, feeling protected by the "agreement" with the C. F. U. and confident that its friendly fakirs would stand by them, refused to listen to the Italian laborers, and the latter, foolishly thinking that the "great" A. F. of L. of which they were now a part, would help them in their efforts to improve their conditions, went on strike on May 1 and proceeded to learn their first lesson in pure and simple treachery.

The "honor" of the C. F. U. was now at stake for fair, and right strenuously did the fakirs seek to uphold it. At the next two meetings of the Fakirization, the all important point was not what could be done to help the striking Italians to enforce their demands, but how quickly could they be induced to return to work "pending arbitration," and this notwithstanding the notoriously brutal conditions under which the men worked, and the vile treatment accorded to them in the payment of their miserable wage previous to the strike. The contractors wanted the men ordered back, but the degree of autonomy supposed to be enjoyed by the union prevented such a course, and bamboozling had to be resorted to. So sure were the fakirs of success in this line that when the proposition to appoint a special committee of seven by adding four to the existing R. T. committee, was made, plenty of them were willing to serve.

This was the "juicy" committee upon which the Pipe Caulkers' delegate, Quinlan, tried so hard to be appointed, but was ignored, and the four added were Daly, Archibald, Noonan and Robinson. The writer on asking why they threw down Quinlan was met with this answer: "Oh, we want this for ourselves; this is too 'juicy' to let him in on."

This committee's first duty was to get the striking Italians back to work and do the "conciliating" business afterward. But the strikers were not so easily bluffed. Some of them had worked in the coal mines, and most of them had heard of the fate of the miners. Among those of the downtown division were many Northern Italians, who possessed some knowledge of Socialist principles, and naturally were onto the game of the fakirs and would not swallow the bluff. While the uptown strikers were mostly Southern and Sicilians, and to a great extent ignorant of language and methods of the country, they were all the more suspicious of a proposition to return to work "pending arbitration," when they at least knew that the fakirs were aware of the awful conditions un-

der which the subway work was conducted. Filled with a spirit of resentment toward their exploiters, encouraged by the example of their Northern comrades who understood the situation, and inspired by the teachings of Editor Serrati of "Il Proletario" (the official organ of the Italian Socialist Federation), who had been induced by the Socialists among them to address their mass meetings, the men started the first week of their fight, a united, determined body, whose complete tying up of the tunnel could have gained for them most, if not all, the concessions they demanded, were it not for the scabby actions of their "brother" members of the A. F. of L. and their fakir "leaders" in the "unions" that were not composed of "dagos."

The strikers, however, lacked one thing, and that was men of knowledge and determination to represent them. The men elected as officers by the various divisions of the unions, were without economic or political knowledge. Thus they were easily persuaded by the fakirs that the best course was to assist them in trying to stampede the rockmen back to the trenches and so swamp the splendid display being made by them, and run their fighting spirit into the ground. The men refused to listen, and compelled their vacillating officers to line up with them, but the incident had a discouraging effect on those who had felt confident that these officers would "lead" them to victory. On the other hand, the action of the strikers in notifying the fakirs that they had voted to refuse to return, and wanted the arbitration first, caused much uneasiness in the ranks of the fakirs as was shown by their attitude when Pallas reported for the "juicy" committee on May 10, that they had failed to get the strikers to agree to go back and apply to be let in on the general agreement, and made special request that he be permitted to report progress without further comment, in the hope that they would have a better report next time. It was plain that the main question was "How shall we assist the bosses in getting the strikers back?" not "How shall we help the men obtain their rights?" There would be no "juice" in the latter proposition.

The following from the "Circus" reports in The Daily People will give the reader an idea of the results of their efforts. On May 18:

"After McConville had droned out some vague unintelligible Pallas again got the center of the ring and described the progress of their efforts with the Italian Rockmen and Excavators whose strike is considered to have been a violation of the agreement between the C. F. U. and the contractors, though the Italians were not organized when the agreement was made. Pallas told how they had held various conferences and induced the bosses to hold off until they made an effort to get the strikers back to work, and how they had succeeded in persuading the Italian officers to agree to call a meeting and attempt to induce the strikers to return, but much to their disappointment the Italian rank and file refused to follow their advice. Repeated efforts had been made along this line, but all to no purpose, and the committee after talking it over with the representatives of the other trades affected had decided to leave the matter to the C. F. U. and wished to be discharged from further duty in the case."

"Now the Circus racket started for fair, and lasted over an hour. Barr moved that the request be granted and declared that the orders of the C. F. U. could not be disobeyed with impunity, and those laborers should be given to understand this and let fight their own battle. Robinson, who organized the Italians had to make a show of supporting them and pleaded the technical point of the degree of autonomy allowed to affiliated unions in using their own judgment as to what tactics were best. "It's just another stunt and advised trying to again induce the Italians to go back. Hand and Pallas took a hand occasionally, and Holland declared that they had already done all they could and failed."

"All the arguments pro and con, some denouncing the strikers, the hottest of which came from Waller of the Patternmakers, who was hissed for his bitterness (the hissing was started by spectators in the rear), and others praising them and declaring they should be supported, would fill a 10-page paper. Strange to say, not a word was dropped as to the influence of Serrati and the men who had infused the fighting spirit into the brave Italians who had been so miserably betrayed by good 'union' men."

"The outcome of the whole thing was the passing of an amendment that the matter be referred back to the committee and another effort made to induce the strikers to return to work pending arbitration, an effort which is undoubtedly foredoomed to failure. By this time the Italians get through with this trouble, the indications are that they will have learned a lesson of 'solidarity' as practiced by the pure and simple unions in America where one branch of a trade seizes upon another and the bunch of 'union' men stands by the boss, to the detriment of other union men."

And again on June 8:

"This disposed of, the Italian Rockmen and Excavators, of whom nothing

has been said since the 'juicy' committee threw its hands up, were again brought upon the scene, and the racket started over them lasted almost two hours, to the exclusion of all other business. Holland declared that the sub-contractors had said on Saturday that they would not treat with the Italians at all, since they had refused to take the dope administered to the teamsters."

"Pacelli, Laradio and Casala, of the Excavators and Rockmen, were present, and it was stated that the Italians would waive their demands for wages and hours if the contractors would recognize and treat with their union. This, of course, is the natural result of the continuous efforts of the fakirs to weaken them and the support given the bosses by the other 'union' men on the subway. Nearly every fakir in the tent did a turn in the discussion that followed, some roasting and others pretending to defend the Italians, the latter, presumably, in the hope of holding them in line by making them think they still have some friends in the gang."

"The Blue Stone Cutters' delegate roasted the A. F. of L. organizer, Robinson, for giving them a charter, and declared that pretty soon they would be going down the avenues and giving charters to the second-hand clothing dealers. "Archibald, the fat Recording Angel, also couldn't resist the temptation to make an oratorical flight, in which he deftly managed both to jolly and to roast the unfortunate Italians. The outcome of the whole affair was that the Rockmen and Excavators were instructed to draw up a statement of what they are willing to go back under and present it to a committee of the various unions employed on the Rapid Transit work for their consideration."

But the pure and simple labor fakirs were not the only things the Italian strikers were up against. As the Irish have their saloon-keeping politicians, ward bosses and guttersnipe leeches; the Germans their bell-wethers and "Winkel Advocates" of various sorts in the Turn Vereens, patriotic clubs, saloons, Kangaroo beer halls and the like; the Jews their "prominent bankers," shyster lawyers and "little peensness" men and other races similar products of capitalism who are the tools of the exploiters, the Italians have their padrones and petty politicians and all-around Judases who do the same dirty work for the same kind of reward in the shape of "favors" (crumbs from their masters' tables, and petty political jobs. Thus the Italians were pestered by men of their own race in the ranks of the bamboozlers, seeking to promote "harmony" between the exploited slaves of the tunnel and their dear brothers, the capitalist contractors, by trying to shoos the former back to work. The most notorious among this element was one Maggio (May), who seems to have had enough conscience left to be ashamed to defile so fair a name, and has come to be known as March ("the month when all the hares are maddest"), a much more fitting appellation. The capitalist papers speak of him as James E. March. Port Warden and Italian Republican leader of the Sixth Assembly District—enough said.

The treachery of the fakirs and "race leaders" was only reinforced by the activity of those faithful servants of the "law and order" preserving capitalist, the police. Of course, since the government of the city is thoroughly capitalist, through the foolishness of the workmen who voted it into power, nothing is more natural than that all the police available should be placed at the disposal of the contractors, and right well did they attend to their "duties." Day after day during the strike the papers contained accounts of "serious riots" being "narrowly averted" through the "vigilance" of the officers who were scattered along the tunnel almost as thick as mosquitoes along the edge of a Jersey swamp, ready to sting with their batons any presumptuous striker who had the temerity to approach too near the sacred property of their all-powerful masters. The "vigilance" consisted of rushing on every group of strikers who happened to gather near the line of the subway, and scattering them like sheep before the onslaught of batons in the hands of "law and order" preserving representatives of capitalist oppression.

To be sure, nothing better could be expected of the "men" on the police force. Having obtained their jobs from the corrupt politicians who handle the political end of capitalist society, often as a reward for assistance rendered in recruiting "rotting cattle" from the dupes of their own class, they are compelled to do the dirty work of their masters and help to whip the discontented workers into subjection or lose their positions and be thrown into the ranks of the decent workmen who are still free to fight against the tyranny of the capitalist exploiters instead of assisting in upholding it. To some of them whose manhood has not yet been totally destroyed, such "duties" are, no doubt, irksome and disagreeable, but to those who as a natural result of their environment have become brutalized and brought up, or rather down, to the standard required for faithful tools of capitalists who are themselves thoroughly brutalized as a result of the present system of private ownership and capitalist competition, seem to take a sort of sav-

age pleasure in the performance of their "duties," similar to that felt by the "boys in blue" administering the "water cure" to a helpless Filipino, the black fiends and their still more fiendish white officers at Idaho taunting a dying Mike Devine through the gates of the Wardner "Bull Pen," or the "brave" deputies shooting parading "foreigners" through the back at Lattimer. In confirmation of the above contention may be quoted the following from the news items of May 18:

"The police stationed throughout Little Italy said that while the Italians were restless to-day, no trouble was expected until the end of the week. One patrolman said:

"We are sore on the Italians up here and have a grudge to settle with them. Five and a half years ago three of the citizens' clothes men in the East 104th street station went to a saloon on 112th street, between First and Second avenue, to get an Italian. They were 'cut up, and practically bled to death, all dying in hospitals later. That was in what is known as Murderers' Row, which is now being pulled down for the new Jefferson Park. As long as the Italians keep quiet we don't do anything, but if they don't behave they will get into trouble. Sometime we will settle that grudge."

So the poor "dago" who came to this "glorious" land of "liberty," filled with the hope of enjoying some of its much vaunted "prosperity," was up against it all around.

The attitude of the capitalist newspapers during the subway strike was positively amusing to the class-conscious workman, but it was also positively instructive to the student of capitalism and its degrading influence on society in general and the lackeys of the ruling class in particular. The ridiculous lengths to which the degenerate scribblers of the subsidized papers went in their efforts to show their masters how faithfully they are being served amply proved the depths of mental prostitution to which those miserable hirelings have been reduced. Spitefully worded accounts of the actions of the strikers, intended to throw public sympathy against them and highly exaggerated reports of the success of the bosses in obtaining strike breakers are the regulation thing in all strikes, but in this case stories of the latter kind were positively absurd, since not much more than one in a hundred of the Italians even read anything in the English language. The rest neither knew nor cared what was printed about them, as they were well aware of what was being done in the tunnel. The silliness of the "yarns" about the conduct of the strikers was absolutely mirth-provoking. Yarns about plots to dynamite the trenches, schemes to burst the big water main by "throwing stones at it!" and the like were foolish enough, but the yellowest sheet of them all capped the climax by "discovering" a plot to blow up the monster gas tank of the Consolidated Gas Company up on First avenue. Seeing that the explosion of the tank, with its 5,000,000 cubic feet of gas, would have resulted in the killing of scores of Italian families in the nearby tenements, the absurdity as well as the viciousness of the "yarn" is apparent. And yet workmen purchase such papers and imagine them to be the "friends of labor."

The subway laborers' strike is over, and as was to be expected, the strikers have got it in the neck. The incident is a thing of the past, but the lessons to be learned from it are enduring. How different would have been the story, with such a body of men so united and so willing to fight as were those strikers, had they been affiliated with the class-conscious Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which does not bind one branch of an industry by a contract with the boss which compels it to sear on another branch. The strike as a weapon is fast becoming obsolete, but here was one instance when it could have been made effective were it not for the viciousness of the graft-hunting gang of labor fakirs to whom the dupes of the pure and simple trade unions intrust the conduct of their affairs. How different would have been the story had the economic organizations of the various trades on the tunnel been controlled by men imbued with the spirit of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. and ready to honestly fearlessly stand by their fellow workers and help them take advantage of every such opportunity to wrest from their relentless exploiters a little larger portion of the product of their labor.

When the Italian workers and those of every other race will have learned that only when they join hands with those in the ranks of the sturdy fighters in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, where they will be trained in class-consciousness and taught to strike with the political ballot as well as the economic "sciopero" (stop work), will they be able to fight the exploitation by the capitalist class correctly and effectively—and it is up to those who have already learned it, to see that such education is spread among them—the pages of the history of the labor movement will no longer be blackened by such tales of treachery and betrayal as The Story of the Subway Strike.

Sam J. French.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The Wage Worker of Detroit, Mich., having been discontinued, the subscribers to that publication will have The Weekly People sent to them until the time when their subscriptions would have expired.

We desire to state to such subscribers that a postal card will be mailed to them just before their subscriptions are about to expire, and we invite them all to become readers of The Weekly People.

Once more we desire to call attention to the work that is being done in Paterson, N. J., by Comrade Berdan. After securing 22 more subscribers this week for The Weekly People, the total number of readers in that city has been increased to 148. And if Comrade Berdan keeps this up Paterson will soon have as large a mailing list as some of the largest cities in the country. The workingman who is made a reader of The Weekly People will, after reading it for some time, learn that only the Socialist Labor Party represents the interests of his class, and many of these readers will become recruits to build up our organization with. So, comrades of other cities, if you want our position understood you must do as Comrade Berdan is doing—go to the working people and ask them to subscribe for The Weekly and Monthly People. Do not wait for them to come to us. And do not depend on one or two members of your organization alone to get subscribers. You are all fitted for this work, and if each one will do a little every city can have many readers as Paterson, N. J.

Paul Noffke, of Holyoke, Mass., who secured about 100 subscribers for The Monthly People some time ago, writes as follows: "Enclosed you will find check for 12 subscribers for the Monthly. I have started in again for the contest of a mandolin from July 15 to Sept. 15. I am trying to secure a few hundred."

J. E. Madison, of Richmond, Va., is doing things down his way. He sends in thirteen subscriptions for The Weekly People and hopes to get more.

Walter Goss, of Belleville, Ill., just to show that he is not superstitious, either, also secured thirteen Weekly subscriptions.

Comrade Pierson began his work in Chicago under difficulties. He writes that he has not been well. Still he made a good showing for the first week. Forty-one Monthly and three Weekly subscribers were secured, 35 books sold and three meetings held by him. Chicago, with its large population of wage workers, is a splendid field for our agitation, and the letters we have received from the comrades in that city indicate that they understand that the most effective way to push our agitation is by pushing the Party Press.

Other comrades sending in five or more subscribers are as follows: W. H. Carroll, Worcester, Mass., 8 Weeklies; F. Bohmback, Boston, Mass., 20 Monthlies, 5 Weeklies; Carl Schluter, Boston, Mass., 16 Monthlies; J. A. Stromquist, San Francisco, Cal., 10 Monthlies; E. C. Butterworth, Paterson, N. J., 5 Monthlies; A. LaVoie, Pawtucket, R. I., 10 Monthlies; N. Elliott, Pueblo, Col., 5 Monthlies, 3 Weeklies; J. O. Orme, City, 5 Weeklies; C. M. Nelson, Bouldin Island, Cal., 5 Monthlies; 7th A. D. Brooklyn, N. Y., 5 Monthlies; Charles Pollard, San Antonio, Tex., 10 Monthlies; Williams J. Oberding, Victor, Col., 4 Weeklies, 4 Monthlies; C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 5 Weeklies; C. A. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn., 4 Weeklies, 2 Monthlies; Bert Surges, Vancouver, B. C., 4 Monthlies, 2 Weeklies; Ben Hilbert, Jr., Hamilton, O., 7 Weeklies, 2 Monthlies. Total, 153 Weeklies; 157 Monthlies.

Section Buffalo, N. Y., ordered 600 copies of the July Monthly, to be sent to enrolled voters, with leaflets and throwaways advertising their picnic for Aug. 16.

We have made a new arrangement, which begins to-day, for getting The Sunday People into the New England States. Heretofore complaints have come in frequently about the paper failing to arrive on time, and some orders have been discontinued and others cut down for this reason. The handling of The Sunday People on the special newspaper train has been placed in charge of a reliable messenger, and we do not anticipate that any more difficulty will be experienced in getting the papers regularly and getting them on time. Therefore, we ask the comrades in those States to push the circulation of The Sunday People. Get more newsdealers to handle it. And if you want a bundle to take out on the streets to sell Sunday mornings, the same as the New York comrades are doing, send in your order.

The contest for Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables" closes August 15. This prize, which is offered by the Eighth and Twelfth Assembly Districts of New York city, consists of three volumes, bound in half leather and is valued at \$15. The contest is open to any one, and the winner will be well repaid for his efforts.

Sections needing a platform for their open-air meetings are reminded that the

section sending in the most subscribers for The Weekly People between July 18 and September 7 is to receive one of Comrade Wollenschlager's portable steel platforms.

Another platform is offered to the organization in New York city selling the largest number of Sunday Peoples between the same dates. The Thirty-fifth Assembly District has ordered 205 papers of to-day's issue, so we presume they are going to enter the contest.

## LABOR NEWS.

The Labor News Company sent 2,000 of its five-cent pamphlets to Glasgow, Scotland, last week to add force to the "unholy Scotch current," which is now sweeping down with England. An order for 300 pamphlets was also sent to the literary secretary of the S. L. P. of Southampton.

Another edition of 30,000 leaflets on "The Difference" was sold last month, and an edition of 60,000 is now in press. The Labor News still has a few copies of "Communism in Central Europe," by Kautsky, which can be procured at \$1.50; former price \$3.00.

The latest publication of the Labor News is "The Trusts," a 64-page booklet in the Buzz-Saw Series. Price, 5 cents.

Section Baltimore, Md., had a 15,000 edition of "An Appeal to the Wage Workers of Maryland" printed last week, and Sections St. Louis, Mo., and Louisville, Ky., took 10,000 leaflets each.

## Authorized Agents for the People

AKRON, O.—W. Garritt, 194 Union street.  
ALBANY, N. Y.—Clifton H. Pierce, 118 Swan street.  
BALTIMORE, MD.—R. W. Stevens, 632 Columbia ave.  
BELLEVILLE, ILL.—Walter Goss, 701 Bristol street.  
BOSTON, MASS.—Frank Bohmback, 87 Lamb street.  
BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—J. C. Carter, 810 Broad street.  
BUTTE, MONT.—P. J. Dwyer, 432 E. Broadway.  
BUFFALO, N. Y.—B. Reinstein, 521 Broadway.  
CANTON, O.—John H. G. Juergens, 1106 High street.  
CHICAGO, ILL.—Frank Hruby, 2630 Monticello avenue.  
CINCINNATI, O.—Frank F. Young, 34 East Thirteenth street.  
CLAYPOOL, IND.—Oliver P. Stoner.  
COLUMBUS, OHIO—Oscar Steinbock, 426 So. Third street; Oscar Freer, 222 N. N.  
CLEVELAND, O.—P. C. Christiansen, 78 Fairfield street. Fred Brown, 2235 Isabella street.  
CLINTON, IOWA—E. C. Matson, 102 Howard street.  
COLONVILLE, ILL.—Wm. Veal.  
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—L. Gunther, 3 South E. Paso st.  
COLUMBUS, OHIO—Oscar Steinbock, 426 So. Third street. Oscar Freer, 222 N. 3rd street.  
DENVER, COL.—Charles J. Michael, 400 Club Building.  
DETROIT, MICH.—F. Friesema, Jr., 334 Arndt street.  
DUBLIN, IRELAND.—J. W. O'Brien, 43 Belvidere place.  
DULUTH, MINN.—Ed. Kriz, 614 Garfield avenue.  
EAST LOUIS, ILL.—G. A. Jennings, 1525 Broadway.  
ELIZABETH, N. J.—G. T. Petersen, 219 Third street.  
ERIE, PA.—Fred Uhlman, 656 W. 19th street.  
EVANSTON, ILL.—C. A. Schand, 17 E. Pennsylvania street.  
EVERETT, MASS.—Chas. H. Chabot, 161 Broadway.  
FAIR RIVER, MASS.—Robert Bateson, 374 Crescent street.  
GAIDNER, MASS.—Thos. Smith, 18 Greenwood street.  
GLAVERVILLE, N. Y.—M. E. Wilcox, 14 N. Main street.  
GRAND JUNCTION, COL.—J. P. Sloan.  
HAMILTON, OHIO—Ben Hilbert, Jr., 811 N. Main street.  
HAMILTON, ONT., CANADA.—Isaac Shapiro, 64 Ferguson avenue south.  
HOBOKEN, N. J.—Julius Eck, 310 Garden street.  
HOLYOKE, MASS.—M. Ruther, 17 Glen street.  
HOMESTEAD, PA.—James Lawry, 701 AM street.  
HOUSTON, TEX.—John J. Loverde, 804 Galveston Hotel Bldg., 107 Preston avenue.  
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—J. Burkhardt, 202 N. Main street.  
JACKSONVILLE, ILL.—J. De Castro, 714 W. Main street.  
KANSAS CITY, MO.—Jos. Trautwein, 1115 N. 9th street.  
KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Charles Peterson.  
KANSAS CITY, MO.—O. M. Howard, 1215 Independence avenue.  
KERN CITY, CAL.—C. B. Lavin.  
LAWRENCE, MASS.—Gilbert S. Smith, 125 Garden street.  
LINCOLN, NEB.—Dr. H. S. Aley, P. O. Box 101.  
LONDON, ONT., CANADA—George L. Bryce, 317 Grey street.  
LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Louis C. Haller, 205 1/2 So. Main street.  
LOUISVILLE, KY.—Thos. Sweeney, 1409 1/2 Third street.  
LOWELL, MASS.—John Parret, 24 Wilder street.  
LYNN, MASS.—Jacob Overs, Highland House.  
MALDEN, MASS.—Henry Lyndell, 27 Stanton street.  
MARLBORO, MASS.—Henry Tebeau.  
MEDWAY, MASS.—John Cunningham, Village street.  
MEDFORD, MASS.—George Anderson, 18 Abmont street.  
MILFORD, CONN.—Gust. Laeger, P. O. 714.  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.—John Vierthner, 24 5th street.  
MINNEN WIS. MO.—A. D. Turner.  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Chas. A. Johnson, Labor Lyceum, 50 Washington avenue S.  
MONTREAL, CAN.—J. M. Coeur, 753 Montcalm street.  
NEWARK, N. J.—A. P. Witel, 79 Springfield avenue.  
NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—Dennis McGough, 105 South street.  
NEW BRITAIN, CONN.—Roger W. Egan, 200 E. Main street.  
NEW HAVEN, CT.—Christian Schmidt, 208 Foster street.  
NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Leon Lecoste, 2402 Iberville street.  
NO. AMHERST, MASS.—Jer. Devine.  
NOVEMBER, MO.—D. A. Reed.  
PATTERSON, N. J.—John C. Butterworth, 110 Abmont street.  
PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Charles H. Dana, 109 Dexter street.  
PELHAM, N. Y.—Charles Zolot, 1,513 Main street.  
PEORIA, ILL.—Fred Lichtsinn, 503 Argo street.  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Edmund Seidel, 2125 Bridge street.

(Continued on Page Six.)



# WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty.

Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

Copyright, 1903, by the NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

## PART II.

## WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

Yet another cause that destroys the object of marriage to not a few men is to be found in the physical debility of many women. Our food, housing, methods of work and support, in short, our whole form of life, affects us in more ways than one rather harmfully than otherwise. We can speak with perfect right of a "nervous age." Now, then, this nervousness goes hand in hand with physical degeneration. Anemia and nervousness are spread to an enormous degree among the female sex. They are assuming the aspect of a social calamity, that, if it continue a few generations longer, as at present, and we fail to place our social organization on a normal footing, is urging the race towards its destruction.

With an eye to its sexual mission, the female organism requires particular care—good food, and, at certain periods, the requisite rest. Both of these are lacking to the great majority of the female sex, at least in the cities and industrial neighborhoods, nor are they to be had under modern industrial conditions. Moreover, woman has so habituated herself to privation that, for instance, numberless women hold it a conjugal duty to keep the tid-bits for the man, and satisfy themselves with insufficient nourishment. Likewise are boys frequently given the preference over girls in matters of food. The opinion is general that woman can accommodate herself, not with less food only, but also with food of poorer quality. Hence the sad picture that our female youth, in particular, presents to the eyes of the expert. A large portion of our young women are bodily weak, anemic, hypernervous. The consequences are difficulties in menstruation, and disease of the organs connected with the sexual purpose, the disease often assuming the magnitude of incapacity to give birth and to nurse the child, even of danger to life itself. "Should this degeneration of our women continue to increase in the same measure as before, the time may not be far away when it will become doubtful whether man is to be counted among the mammals or not." Instead of a healthy, joyful companion, of a capable mother, of a wife attentive to her household duties, the husband has on his hands a sick, nervous wife, whose house the physician never quits, who can stand no draft, and can not bear the least noise. We shall not expatiate further on this subject. Every reader—and as often as in this book we speak of "reader," we mean, of course, the female as well as the male—can himself further fill the picture: he has illustrations enough among his own relatives and acquaintances.

Experienced physicians maintain that the larger part of married women, in the cities especially, are in a more or less abnormal condition. According to the degree of the evil and the character of the couple, such women can not choose but be unhappy, and, they give the husband the right, in public opinion, to allow himself freedoms outside of the marriage bed, the knowledge of which throws the wife into the most wretched of moods. Furthermore the, at times, very different sexual demands of one party or the other give occasion to serious friction, without the so much wished-for separation being possible. A great variety of considerations render that, in most cases, out of all question.

Under this head the fact may not be suppressed that a considerable number of husbands are themselves responsible for certain serious physical ailments of their wives, ailments that these are not infrequently omitted with in marriage. As consequences of the excesses indulged in during bachelorhood, a considerable number of men suffer of chronic sexual diseases, which, seeing these cause them no serious inconvenience, are taken lightly. Nevertheless, through sexual intercourse with the wife, these diseases bring upon her disagreeable, even fatal troubles of the womb, that set in, soon after marriage, and often develop to the point of rendering her unable to conceive or to give birth. The wretched woman usually has no idea of the cause of the sickness, that depresses her spirits, embitters her life, and uproots the purpose of marriage. She blames herself, and accepts blame for a condition, that the other party is alone responsible for. Thus many a blooming wife falls, barely married, a prey to chronic malady, unaccountable to either herself or her family.

"As recent investigations have proved, this circumstance—that, as a result of gonorrhea, the male sperm no longer contains any seed-cells, and the man is, consequently, incapacitated for life from begetting children—is a comparatively frequent cause of matrimonial barrenness, in contradistinction to the old and convenient tradition of the lords of creation, who are ever ready to shift to the shoulder of the wife the responsibility for the absence of the blessing of children."

Accordingly, a large number of causes are operative in preventing modern married life, in the large majority of instances, from being that which it should be—a union of two beings of opposite sexes, who, out of mutual love and esteem, wish to belong to each other, and, in the striking sentence of Kant, mean, jointly, to constitute the complete human being. It is, therefore, a suggestion of doubtful value—made even by learned folks, who imagine thereby to dispose of woman's endeavors after emancipation—that she look to domestic duties, to marriage, to marriage, that our economic conditions are ever turning into a viler caricature, and that answers its purpose ever less!

The advice to woman that she seek her salvation in marriage, this being her real calling—an advice that is thoughtlessly applauded by the majority of men—sounds like the merest mockery, when both the advisers and their *claqueuses* do the opposite. Schopenhauer, the philosopher, has of woman only the conception of the philistine. He says: "Woman is not meant for much work. Her characteristic is not action but suffering. She pays the debt of life with the pains of travail, anxiety for the child, subjection to man. The strongest utterances of life and sentiment are denied her. Her life is meant to be quieter and less important than man's. Woman is destined for nurse and educator of infancy, being herself infant-like, and an infant for life, a sort of intermediate stage between the child and the man, who is the real being." Girls should be trained for domesticity and subjection.

Women are the most thorough-paced and incurable Philistines. In the same spirit as Schopenhauer, who, of course, is greatly quoted, is cast Lombroso and Ferrero's work, "Woman as a Criminal and a Prostitute." We know no scientific work of equal size—it contains 500 pages—with such a dearth of valid evidence on the theme therein treated. The statistical matter, from which the bold conclusions are drawn, is mostly meager. Often a dozen instances suffice the joint authors to draw the weightiest deductions. The matter that may be considered the most valuable in the work is, typically enough, furnished by a woman—Dr. Tarnowskaja. The influence of social conditions, of cultural development, is left almost wholly on one side. Everything is judged exclusively from the physiologic-psychologic view-point, while a large quantity of ethnographic items of information on various peoples

is woven into the argument, without submitting these items to closer scrutiny. According to the authors, just as with Schopenhauer, woman is a grown child, a *fiat per excellence*, weak of judgment, fickle in love, incapable of any deed truly heroic. They claim the inferiority of woman to man is manifest from a large number of bodily differences. "Love, with woman, is as a rule nothing but a secondary feature of maternity,—all the feelings of attachment that bind woman to man arise, not from sexual impulses, but from the instincts of subjection and resignation, acquired through habits of conformity." How these "instincts" were acquired and "conformed" themselves, the joint authors fail to inquire into. They would then have had to inquire into the social position of woman in the course of thousands of years, and would have been compelled to find that it is that that made her what she now is. It is true, the joint authors describe partly the enslaved and dependent position of woman among the several peoples and under the several periods of civilization; but as Darwinians, with blinkers to their eyes, they draw all that from physiologic and psychologic, not from social and economic reasons, which affected in strongest manner the physiologic and psychologic development of woman.

The joint authors also touch upon the vanity of woman, and set up the opinion that, among the peoples who stand on a lower stage of civilization, man is the vain sex, as is noticeable to-day in the New Hebrides and Madagascar, among the peoples of the Orinoco, and on many islands of the Polynesian archipelago, as also among a number of African peoples of the South Sea. With peoples standing on a higher plane, however, woman is the vain sex. But why and wherefor? To us the answer seems plain. Among the peoples of a lower civilization, mother-right conditions prevail generally, or have not yet been long overcome. The role that woman there plays raises her above the necessity of seeking for the man, the man seeks her, and to this end, ornaments himself and grows vain. With the people of a higher grade, especially with all the nations of civilization, excepting here and there, not the man seeks the woman, but the woman him. It happens rarely that a woman openly takes the initiative, and offers herself to the man; so-called propriety forbids that. In point of fact, however, the offering is done by the manner of her appearance; by means of the beauty of dress and luxury, that she displays; by the manner in which she ornaments herself, and presents herself, and coquets in society. The excess of women, together with the social necessity of looking upon matrimony as an institute for support, or as an institution through which alone she can satisfy her sexual impulse and gain a standing in society, forces such conduct upon her. Here also, we notice again, it is purely economic and social causes that call forth, one time with man, another with woman, a quality that, until now, it was customary to look upon as wholly independent of social and economic causes. Hence the conclusion is justified, that so soon as society shall arrive at social conditions, under which all dependence of one sex upon another shall have ceased, and both are equally free, *ridiculous vanity and the folly of fashion will vanish, just as so many other vices that we consider to-day unchangeable, as supposedly inherent in man.* Schopenhauer, as a philosopher, judges woman as one-sidedly as most of our anthropologists and physicians, who see in her only the sexual, never the social, being. Schopenhauer was never married. He, accordingly, has not, on his part, contributed towards having one more woman pay the "debt of life" that he debits woman with. And this brings us to the other side of the medal, which is far from being the handsomer.

Many women do not marry, simply because they cannot. Everybody knows that usage forbids woman to offer herself. She must allow herself to be wooed, *i. e.*, chosen. She herself may not woo. Is there no woe to be had, then she enters the large army of those poor beings who have missed the purpose of life, and in view of the lack of safe material foundation, generally fall a prey to want and misery, and but too often to ridicule also. But few know what the discrepancy in numbers between the two sexes is due to; many are ready with the hasty answer: "There are too many girls born." Those who make the claim are wrongly informed, as will be shown. Others, again, who admit the unnaturalness of celibacy, conclude from the fact that women are more numerous than men in most countries of civilization, that polygamy should be allowed. But not only does polygamy do violence to our customs, it, moreover, degrades woman, a circumstance that, of course, does not restrain Schopenhauer, with his underestimation of and contempt for women, from declaring: "For the female sex, as a whole, polygamy is a benefit."

Many men do not marry because they think they cannot support a wife, and the children that may come, according to their station. To support two wives is, however, possible to a small minority only, and among these are many who now have two or more wives—one legitimate and several illegitimate. These few, privileged by wealth, are not held back by anything from doing what they please. Even in the Orient, where polygamy exists for thousands of years by law and custom, comparatively few men have more than one wife. People talk of the demoralizing influence of Turkish harem life; but the fact is overlooked that this harem life is possible only to an insignificant fraction of the men, and then only in the ruling class, while the majority of the men live in monogamy. In the city of Algiers, there were, at the close of the sixties, out of 18,282 marriages, not less than 17,319 with one wife only; 888 were with two; and only 75 with more than two. Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish Empire, would show no materially different result. Among the country population in the Orient, the proportion is still more pronouncedly in favor of single marriages. In the Orient, exactly as with us, the most important factor in the calculation are the material conditions, and these compel most men to limit themselves to but one wife. If, on the other hand, material conditions were equally favorable to all men, polygamy would still not be practicable,—for want of women. The almost equal number of the two sexes, prevalent under normal conditions, points everywhere to monogamy.

As proof of these statements, we cite the following tables, that Bucher published in an essay.\*

In these tables the distinction must be kept in mind between the enumerated and the estimated populations. In so far as the population was enumerated, the fact is expressly stated in the summary for the separate main divisions of the earth. The sexes divide themselves in the population of several divisions and countries as follows:

## I. EUROPE.

Countries.	Census Year.	Males.	Females.	Population.	Men.
Great Britain and Ireland .....	1891	18,358,756	19,499,397	37,858,153	1,090
Denmark and Faror .....	1890	1,065,447	1,119,712	2,185,159	1,032
Norway .....	1891	951,496	1,037,501	1,988,997	1,090
Sweden .....	1890	2,317,105	2,467,570	4,784,675	1,085
Finland .....	1889	1,152,111	1,186,293	2,338,404	1,030
Russia .....	1886	42,499,324	42,895,885	85,395,209	1,009
Poland .....	1886	3,977,406	4,270,156	8,247,562	1,076
German Empire .....	1890	24,231,832	25,189,232	49,421,064	1,039
Austria .....	1880	10,810,737	11,324,507	22,135,244	1,047
Hungary .....	1880	7,799,276	7,939,192	15,738,468	1,019
Liechtenstein .....	1886	4,897	4,096	8,993	959
Luxembourg .....	1890	105,419	105,669	211,088	1,002
Holland .....	1889	2,228,487	2,282,925	4,511,412	1,024
Belgium .....	1890	3,062,656	3,084,385	6,147,041	1,007
Switzerland .....	1888	1,427,377	1,506,680	2,934,057	1,055
France .....	1880	18,900,312	19,030,447	37,930,759	1,007
Spain and the Canary Islands .....	1887	8,008,532	8,950,776	17,559,308	1,039
Gibraltar (Civil population) .....	1890	9,201	9,326	18,527	1,013
Portugal .....	1878	2,175,820	2,374,870	4,550,690	1,091
Italy .....	1881	14,205,383	14,194,245	28,459,628	995
Bosnia and Herzegovina .....	1885	705,025	631,066	1,336,091	895
Serbia .....	1890	1,110,731	1,052,028	2,162,759	947
Bulgaria .....	1881	1,519,953	1,492,996	3,012,949	962
Roumania .....	1880	2,276,558	2,148,403	4,424,961	944
Greece .....	1880	1,133,625	1,053,583	2,187,208	929
Malta .....	1890	82,086	83,576	165,662	1,018
Total .....		170,818,561	174,914,119	345,732,680	1,024

\*Karl Bucher: "Ueber die Verhältnisse der beiden Geschlechter auf der Erde," "Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv," Tübingen, 1890.

## 2. AMERICA.

Countries.	Census Year.	Males.	Females.	Population.	Men.
Danish Greenland .....	1888	4,838	5,383	10,221	1,112
British North America .....	1881	2,288,100	2,229,735	4,517,835	974
United States of North America .....	1880	25,518,820	24,636,903	50,155,723	965
Bermuda Islands .....	1890	7,767	8,117	15,884	1,046
Mexico .....	1882	5,072,054	5,375,920	10,447,974	1,000
North America and Islands .....		32,891,675	32,250,118	65,141,793	981
Nicaragua .....	1883	136,240	140,591	286,845	1,070
British Honduras .....	1881	14,108	13,344	27,452	946
Cuba .....	1877	850,520	671,164	1,521,684	789
Porto Rico .....	1877	360,054	362,594	722,648	983
British West Indies .....	1881	589,012	624,132	1,213,144	1,060
French West Indies .....	1885	176,364	180,266	356,630	1,022
Danish Possessions .....	1880	14,880	18,874	33,754	1,263
Dutch Colony Curacao .....	1889	20,234	25,565	45,799	1,263
Central America and the West Indies .....		2,170,439	2,042,535	4,212,974	941
British Guiana .....	1891	151,759	126,569	278,328	834
French Guiana .....	1885	15,767	10,735	26,502	681
Dutch Guiana .....	1889	30,187	28,704	58,891	953
Brazil .....	1872	5,123,869	4,806,009	9,930,478	938
Chili .....	1885	1,258,616	1,208,353	2,466,969	1,008
Falkland Islands .....	1890	1,086	703	1,789	647
South America total .....		6,581,284	6,241,733	12,823,017	949
Population of America .....		41,843,389	40,540,386	82,383,775	973

## 3. ASIA.

Countries.	Census Year.	Males.	Females.	Population.	Men.
Russian Caucasus .....	1885	3,876,868	3,407,690	7,284,557	870
Siberia, minus Amur and Sachalin .....	1885	2,146,411	2,002,570	4,148,981	933
Province Uralak .....	1885	263,915	263,686	527,601	990
General Province of the Prairies .....	1885	926,246	781,626	1,707,872	844
Province Fergana .....	1885	365,461	350,672	716,133	959
Province Samarkand .....	1885	335,530	305,616	641,146	911
Russian Possessions, total .....		7,914,431	7,112,178	15,026,609	899
British India (immediate possessions) .....	1891	112,150,120	108,313,980	220,464,100	906
Tributary States (so far known) .....	1891	31,725,910	29,675,150	61,401,060	935
Hong Kong .....	1889	138,033	56,449	194,482	409
Ceylon .....	1881	1,473,515	1,290,469	2,763,984	876
Of the French Possessions:					
Cambodschia .....	?	392,383	422,371	814,754	1,076
Cochinchina .....	1889	944,140	932,543	1,876,683	988
Philippines (partly) .....	1877	2,796,174	2,762,846	5,559,020	988
Japan .....	1888	20,008,445	19,598,789	39,607,234	979
Cyprus .....	1891	104,887	104,404	209,291	995
Total population in Asia .....		177,648,044	170,269,179	347,917,223	958

## 4. AUSTRALIA AND POLYNESIA.

Countries.	Census Year.	Males.	Females.	Population.	Men.
Australia, New Zealand (1890) and Tasmania .....	1891	2,050,594	1,772,472	3,823,066	861
Fiji Islands .....	1890	67,902	57,780	125,682	851
French Possessions (Tahiti, Marquesas, etc.) .....	1889	11,589	10,293	21,882	888
Hawaii .....	1890	38,714	31,270	69,984	533
Total .....		2,167,799	1,871,821	4,039,620	852

## 5. AFRICA.

Countries.	Census Year.	Males.	Females.	Population.	Men.
Egypt .....	1882	3,401,498	3,415,767	6,817,265	1,004
Algeria (minus Sahara) .....	1886	2,014,013	1,701,671	3,715,684	889
Senegal .....	1889	70,504	76,014	146,518	1,073
Gambia .....	1881	7,215	6,935	14,150	961
Sierra Leone .....	1881	31,201	29,345	60,546	946
Lagos .....	1881	37,605	39,605	77,210	998
St. Helena .....	1890	2,020	2,202	4,222	1,000
Capeland .....	1890	706,598	759,141	1,465,739	996
Natal .....	1890	288,062	275,851	563,913	1,029
Orange Free State:					
White .....	1890	40,571	37,145	77,716	915
Black .....	1890	67,791	61,996	129,787	914
Republic:					
White .....	1890	66,498	52,630	119,128	791
Black .....	1890	115,539	144,045	259,584	1,246
Reunion .....	1889	94,430	71,485	165,915	757
Mayotte .....	1889	6,701	5,509	12,210	815
St. Marie de Madagascar .....	1888	3,648	4,019	7,667	1,102
Total .....		6,904,064	6,771,360	13,675,424	968

Probably the result of this presentation will be astonishing to many. With the exception of Europe, where, on an average, there are 1,024 women to every 1,000 men, the reverse is the case everywhere else. If it is further considered that in the foreign divisions of the earth, and even there where actual enumeration was had, information upon the female sex is particularly defective—a fact that must be presumed with regard to all the countries of Mohammedan population, where the figures for the female population are probably below the reality—it stands pat that, apart from a few European nations, the female sex nowhere tangibly exceeds the male. It is otherwise in Europe, the country that interests us most. Here, with the exception of Italy and the southeast territories of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece, the female population is everywhere more strongly represented than the male. Of the large European countries, the disproportion is slightest in France—1,002 females to every 1,000 males; next in order is Russia, with 1,009 females to every 1,000 males. On the other hand, Portugal, Norway and Poland, with 1,076 females to every 1,000 males, present the strongest disproportion. Next to these stands Great Britain—1,060 females to every 1,000 males. Germany and Austria lie in the middle: they have, respectively, 1,039 and 1,047 females to every 1,000 males.

In the German Empire, the excess of the female over the male population, according to the census of December 1, 1890, was 957,400, against 988,376, according to the census of December 1, 1885. A principal cause of this disproportion is emigration, inasmuch as by far more men emigrate than women. This is clearly brought out by the opposite pole

\*Besides 550,430 children without specification of sex.

of Germany, the North American Union, which has about as large a deficit in women as Germany has a surplus. The United States is the principal country for European emigration, and this is mainly made up of males. A second cause is the larger number of accidents to men than to women in agriculture, the trades, the industries and transportation. Furthermore, there are more males than females temporarily abroad—merchants, seamen, marines, etc. All this transpires clearly from the figures on the conjugal status. In 1890 there were 8,372,486 married men to 8,398,007 married women in Germany, *i. e.*, 26,121 more of the latter. Another phenomenon, that statistics establish and that weigh heavily in the scales, is that, on an average, women reach a higher age than men; at the more advanced ages there are more women than men. According to the census of 1890 the relation of ages among the two sexes were these:

	Males.	Females.	Excess of Males.	Excess of Females.
Below ten years .....	5,993,681	5,966,226	27,455	.....
10 to 20 years .....	5,104,731	5,110,093	.....	5,342
20 to 30 years .....	3,947,324	4,055,321	.....	107,997
30 to 40 years .....	3,090,174	3,216,704	.....	126,530
40 to 50 years .....	2,471,617	2,659,609	.....	187,992
50 to 60 years .....	1,826,931	2,041,377	.....	214,426
60 to 70 years .....	1,177,142	1,391,227	.....	214,085
70 and up .....	610,192	757,081	.....	137,889
Total .....	24,230,832	25,107,638	27,455	994,261



# SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	38,564
In 1900.....	34,191
<b>IN 1902.....</b>	<b>53,617</b>

## TALKING OUT OF SCHOOL.

Mr. D. M. Parry, has again been saying things. This time, it was at the session of the convention of the Furniture Association of America. Mr. Parry's talks are valuable. The trusted, plutocratic capitalists have learned the knack of using speech only to conceal their views, their fears and their purposes. Mr. Parry is not yet "there." He belongs to the class of "our daddies" capitalists: the original thing, almost too green to burn; consequently he says things when he talks. He says what he means; he says what he feels; "his tongue touches where the tooth aches." In this last speech it touches two aching teeth, not in his own head merely, but in the collective head of the capitalist class. Mr. Parry declared that "there is no safe dependence to be placed in the action of legislators whose political life depends upon labor votes," and later on he drew in dark colors the calamities that would befall the country if the workingmen were to go on a universal strike. These are two burning points with capitalists generally, only the upper ones don't say so.

The "dependence" of the legislators on labor votes is a galling fact to the capitalist class. The far-sighted ones see in that a possibility, a probability, of their rule being put an end to at any time; the equally far-sighted on that line, but blind as a bat on another line, imagine the danger can be obviated by depriving Labor of the suffrage and making the political life of the legislators dependent exclusively upon the idle vote. The matter is the subject of frequent discussions among the idle or capitalist class. Mr. Parry blurs out the secret whisperings of his fellow idlers.

Likewise is the matter of a "universal strike" the subject of serious discussion among the idle or capitalist class. But this subject presents itself to these gentlemen as one of the two horns of the dilemma. If they allow Labor to enjoy the suffrage, they may be knocked down with the ballot; if they deprive Labor of the suffrage, the pent up steam of just discontent may burst the boiler of the capitalist engine: a universal strike would be an ugly thing to contend against; in the turmoil capitalism could hardly hope to escape. Once the electric spark of Labor's solidarity has welded all the branches of Labor into one mass and a universal strike, what would become of the idle class?

It is to be hoped that Mr. D. M. Parry will speak often. His speeches are about the only opportunity one has to-day of getting a peep into the councils of the idle or capitalist class.

## ST. BERNSTEIN.

We have demonstrated in previous issues that the Social Democratic vote, recently polled in Germany, powerful in numbers and shown to be still more powerful by later returns, was a mighty step forward toward the overthrow of the Imperial political system, but that, and inevitably, it was not a Socialist vote. The demonstration was made—as is the wont of and behooves the organ of a self-respecting party, that has no interests but those of truth to subserve—with documentary proof, and that of the very highest character. The manifesto issued by the highest authority in the German Social Democracy, the party's delegation in the Reichstag, and bearing the signature of all the members—with which the campaign was there opened, was reproduced in full in these columns in a careful and conscientious translation. As shown, Socialism, both in point of argument and space, was conspicuous by its absence. Space and argument were devoted to issues, burning, indeed, and all-important in semi-feudal Germany, but typically bourgeois, radical, bourgeois.

Only at the end, occupying but a few lines and markedly a "nonsequitur" from what preceded, appeared some Socialist phrases, a mere declamatory "faux pas finale." The demonstration was complete.

Since then, Edward Bernstein, no less a personage than one of the signers of that manifesto, and himself re-elected at the late election, has in express language supplemented our facts and confirmed papers of Richter's party [bourgeois] libelous conclusion. In the July issue of the "Socialistische Monatshefte" Bernstein has an article dealing with the election. In the course of the article the following passage occurs:

"It is not the 'incredibly wild agitation of the Social Democracy,' which the [Socialists] are writing about, but, ON THE CONTRARY, the incredibly stale policy of slandering the Socialists, pursued by Richter's press, that inflicted upon that party its deepest wounds."

Bernstein then proceeds to elaborate the point, and clinches it with these words:

"That policy has . . . compelled an increasing number of bourgeois voters to give their vote to the Social Democracy WITHOUT THEIR BEING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS THEMSELVES."

In so far as all this concerns Germany, its rehearsal is of little interest at this season. Having once stated the facts, the matter could be dropped until the not distant day when events, now sprouting up there, will have ripened sufficiently to re-point a moral and re-adorn a tale with them in these columns. But the sequence of events above run through have a certain, a peculiar interest in this country also.

In this country there is a party variously styled "Social Democratic" and "Socialist." The patron Saint of the party is Edward Bernstein. They hold with him in all his disagreements with Marx, especially touching the middle class and the working class. With him they pin their faith on the middle class—the "intellectuals"; with him they hold that Marx idealized the working class; and with him they look upon the working class as just matchless stuff for food for cannon—to vote them into office. Of course, with him they pronounce themselves Socialists. He is their "beau ideal"; actually their patron Saint. Him they worship. It so happens, however, that, much as they would like to drag the American movement down to the backward political development of Germany, they live not in Germany, but in America. Here, it is to their interest to make the recent German Social Democratic vote appear as an up-to-the-hill Socialist vote. And so they have held, written and declaimed. From the mosquito flats of New Jersey to the Japanese quarter of wood-paved alleys of Seattle, they have been shouting at the top of their voices that every one of the 3,000,800 votes given to the Social Democracy of Germany were given by men who had become Social Democrats.—And now comes their patron Saint, St. Bernstein, and kicks their milk-pail over.

What patron Saints have done to their devotees, when these have slid back, the chronicles of miracles are full of. But what should be done to a patron Saint by his devotees when he leaves them in the lurch?

Something should be done to St. Bernstein.

## TAKE NOTE, WORKERS OF AMERICA

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. What humanity failed to bring about in Great Britain, inhumanity has brought on. The Boer war—about as atrocious and scandalous page in the atrocious and scandalous history of England—has opened the eyes of the ruling classes of that country to the fact that there is going on a physical degeneration of the working class. Furthermore, that which all humane preaching with humane purposes in view has failed in now bids fair to be at least partially accomplished for purposes of inhumanity. The argument that, for humanity's sake, the working class should not be allowed to be physically crippled has so far fallen upon the ruling class of England like water on a duck's back; on the other hand, the realization that a physically crippled working class is poor ground from which to recruit the soldiers needed to fight the battles of the British ruling class against their commercial competitors,—that realization has needed no argument: it was fact, argument, conviction and conclusion all in one.

Upon the report of the General Recruiting Inspector for 1902, which showed that the British layers of the working class from which the recruits are drawn are gradually degenerating and unfit to bear arms, the tongues of Great Britain's committee of the country's ruling class, named Parliament, suddenly loosened in

terror. The Bishop of Ripon blurted out in the House of Lords that the number of births is also declining; in the House of Commons Sir William Anson let out of the bag the ugly cat that not fewer than "60,000 London children of school age are physically crippled: they have neither sufficient food nor proper housing"; and the Duke of Meath moved the appointment of a committee to inquire into the national state of health.

It took, accordingly, the danger of not having men for the inhuman purposes of these "pillars of Law, Order, the Family and Morality," the meaning of the facts that they had all along been aware of!

Let the workers of America take note.

## THE CASE OF MINNESOTA.

The correspondence, found elsewhere in this issue, from Minneapolis is commended to the attention of Socialist Labor Party members, the Party's sympathizers and all honorable and serious watchers of events. The passage, particularly commended to their attention, is that in which the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic party have raised the curtain over their criminal "entente cordiale" with the politicians of the capitalist parties.

The facts are these: According to the laws of Minnesota no political party can go on the official ballot with a name, or part of a name of another party polling the requisite percentage, or previously in existence. The Socialist Labor Party, having been regularly on the official ballot for many a year, was entitled to its distinctive name of "Socialist Labor" to the exclusion of any other party. The counterfeit article, named in Minnesota "Socialist party," having sprung up after the Socialist Labor Party, and not polling the necessary percentage, could not create the confusion it is there for by getting on the official ballot in the regular manner. Accordingly, it secured a special Act of the Legislature allowing it a place on the ballot. But not that is the point brought out in the correspondence from Minneapolis. So long as people can be, confused they are not yet ready for the Socialist Revolution. The Socialist Labor Party looks for and trains only unconfusable men. Accordingly, the pull of the Bogus Socialists with the Minnesota capitalist Legislature had for its only effect to redouble the energy of the S. L. P. men. But at the public meeting, described in the correspondence, the Bogus Socialists indicated that the construction which they put upon the special Act in their favor does not stop with allowing them to go on the official ballot, but that it goes further and excludes the Socialist Labor Party. In other words, what would have required a vote of the people at the hustings, cast for a ticket that they considered Socialist, is expected to have been accomplished by the vote of a set of Republican and Democratic legislators; or to put it still more plastically, these Bogus Socialists expect to enjoy by the grace of the vote of capitalist politicians privileges that could not otherwise be enjoyed except by the vote of the people.

The shyster characteristics of the Bogus Socialists are so notorious that their interpretations of law deserve no attention. Nevertheless, equally notorious is their intimacy with the capitalist politicians. Possibly this "interpretation," that they now set afloat, has been communicated to them by the said politicians; in which case it is possible that the stiff fight which the S. L. P. will set up against giving the full weight of a general Act to a special Act may fail of success in the courts. It would almost be worth the while:

It would be worth the while to see alleged revolutionists, who appeal to the people for support, giving the people a kick and virtually saying to them: "You may or may not support us; we don't need ye; we can get on the official ballot, TO THE EXCLUSION OF ALL OTHER PARTY THAT HAS SOCIALISM IN ITS NAME, without your vote; we have something that is worth the vote of all of ye put together, to wit, our chums the Republican and Democratic legislators and their Governor!"

It would be worth the while to see these Republican and Democratic capitalist officials and shooters of the working class taking under their wings, against the Socialist Labor Party, the "revolutionists" that pretend to be for Labor and to contemplate the "overthrow of capitalism."

Finally, it would be worth the while to see the S. L. P. men, in whatever State their party name is thus LEGISLATED out of existence, give proof of their mettle, and teach both the capitalist class and its lackeys the Boguses that the

body that is to make the quietus of both, consists, not in a name, but of MEN.

The Russian police are still at work combating workmen's organizations. They have organized a force of secret agents, who, under the guise of "thinking workmen," circulate among their fellow pamphlets eulogistic of the existing order of government and discrediting all constitutional forms as having a tendency to subject the laboring man to the middle class. The following is the line of argument adopted by one of these pamphlets: Taking France as an illustration, the writer says that it was the French workmen who carried out the revolution; they shed their blood and made their children orphans, and to what end? The power almost immediately passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, and under the pretext of defending themselves against riotous workmen, the bourgeoisie, who would have never gained power but for the workmen's blood which had been shed, made a law that if a crowd refused to disperse at the first command orders must be given to fire on the people. The workmen then discovered, too late, how they had been deceived by the revolutionists. Russian workmen, says the writer, must not make such a mistake. They must not look upon this matter through the eyes of self-appointed revolutionary teachers.

That great philanthropic institution, the Pennsylvania Railway Company, which granted its employees an increase of wages last spring, has hatched out a scheme whereby it not only gets the increase back, but, so the employees say, more besides. Many of the employees have already been notified that dating from August 1 they will be laid off one day at their own expense. The men are grumbling because, as they say, it means that not only does the company take back the increase, but puts more work on them, as the work must be done just the same.

The first men to receive the order were the ferry hands in Jersey City. The deckmen, porters, ticket sellers and bridgemen, who are paid an average of \$40 per month, will have a proportionate amount taken from their wages. The 2500 baggage men between Jersey City and Newark come under the same order. The company is working the scheme gradually, and conductors, brakemen and clerks are wondering if the order will reach them. Vacations that used to be granted are cut out entirely, and the company will profit to the extent of more than \$1,000,000 a year.

A bulletin issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission on railroad accidents in the United States, for the three months ended March 31, 1903, shows there were 300 persons killed and 2854 injured in train accidents. Other kinds of railroad accidents bring the total number of casualties up to 827 killed and 11,481 injured. The figures are not yet at hand for analysis, but, as in previous reports, there is no doubt but that the vast majority of the killed and injured were employees. This is evidenced by the fact that of the total number of collisions and derailments, of which there were 2831 in the three months, only 416 affected passenger trains. In one freight collision along twelve employees were killed. The railroads have been doing an unprecedented freight business for some time, and death or bodily injury is the railroad worker's share of the prosperity. The damage to cars, engines and roadway by these accidents amounted to only \$2,491,046. No doubt lack of safeguards and overworking of employees was mainly responsible for the harvest of death.

The Food Commissioner of Pennsylvania has discovered a great trade in Philadelphia in deleterious flavoring extracts, which are used in soda water and other beverages. Scores of pavement soda fountains, selling drinks at one, two or three cents a glass, flavored every drink with sickening stuff made from drugs and colored with coal tar preparations. Lemon, strawberry, orange, vanilla—all came from the same vat in the wholesaler's shop, each being colored to correspond with the fruit it is supposed to represent. Even the lemonade had no lemon foundation. Time was when it was not considered worth while to imitate or to adulterate lemon extract, so cheap was it, but now the curb stone vender of drinks, and perhaps some more pretentious dealers, can buy their imitation lemon flavoring at 50 cents a gallon, and poison with it the stomachs of the poor.

An enterprising man who runs an animal show at Coney Island invited "Mother" Jones and her "army" down to the beach. The animal man thought that "Mother" Jones would draw a crowd, and he promised her that she could make a speech and take up a collection. The "Mother" went, but the audience was not augmented thereby. From a platform erected for her convenience among the lions, "Mother" Jones spoke. As she roared so did the lions, but she undauntedly kept on while the collection was being taken up.

The Journeymen Barbers' Union of Trenton, N. J., has made a protest against undertakers and their assistants shaving deceased persons, especially those who in life were customers of the complaining members. The Coach Drivers' Union, many members of which are assistants to undertakers, have resolved to stand by the barbers and will shave no more dead men. The report does not state whether or not the physiognomy of the dead is to be decorated with a union label, certifying that the deceased has been union shaved.

## "ON THE ROARING BILLOWS," OR "TALKING IT OVER."

[The Return Trip.]

A steamer, bound for New York, left the port of Liverpool several weeks ago with a large number of passengers, among whom were two gentlemen—Lawrence Murphy and John Black. The two gentlemen were on their return trip. They had gone out a few months before. As then, so were they now always together and always in close conversation; as then, so was there now on board a Marconi wireless telegraphic apparatus, which was now shipped back to New York; as then, so did passengers Murphy and Black now happen to choose for their conversation a secluded spot quite close to where the said apparatus happened to be; and as then, the said apparatus now happened to be boxed in such poor material that there was a wide rent in the wood facing the spot where Murphy and Black habitually communed together. When, upon arrival at the factory in New York, the box was opened, the sensitive plates were again found scribbled all over with sound waves. Being deciphered, the sound waves revealed a rather queer conversation. The wireless scientists laid the thing aside, unable to make out what it really meant, and half imagining it was a joke someone had perpetrated upon them. Two days ago, happening to glance at the plates, and having still fresh on their minds the reports of the trial and conviction of Lawrence Murphy, ex-treasurer of the Journeymen Stonecutters' Union, for larceny on the charge of having stolen \$12,000 from the union's treasury, the wireless scientists read the thing over again, and sent the transcript to this office, thinking it might throw some light upon the case.

It does. A good deal of light. The sound waves evidently were produced by a conversation between Lawrence Murphy and Black, the same as had happened on the way out. Not less so than the first conversation, reproduced in these columns last week, this one is thrilling enough for yellow covers, and helps to clear up much that needs clearing up. Again leaving out the profanity, which is simply indicated in dashes, the dialogue is reproduced below under the same title as before:

## "ON THE ROARING BILLOWS," OR "TALKING IT OVER."

[The Return Trip.]

[N. B.—The only insertions here made are "M," which stands for Murphy, and "B," which stands for Black. These initials, of course, do not appear on the original telegraphic plates. But they are inserted to help the reader understand the conversation. For the rest, the transcript faithfully indicates when it is that Murphy speaks and when Black.]

B.—In your place I wouldn't go back to New York.

M.—I wouldn't.

B.—Why in ———— shouldn't I?

M.—Haven't you Union secured an indictment against you for grand larceny?

M.—Yes.

B.—You will be nabbed soon as you land.

M.—And I'll be acquitted.

B.—Unquestioned! You told me yourself you had taken the money; and they surely can prove it.

M.—You're a silly guy. What is it I did tell you?

B.—You told me how you and those in the ring with you saw to it that your Union kept out of the hands of the law; how the contractor, who was compelled to employ the Union men; how you winked at that; and how after a while you pounced upon the contractor, threatening a strike if he did not pay the Union men for employing non-Union men. You told me then how you had whacked about \$10,000 from the contractors and how you and those in the ring with you went to Europe and had a good time. Wasn't that it?

M.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

B.—On whom then?

M.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

B.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

M.—"Is this way, before I can be convicted the Judge that charges the jury must place the stamp of legality upon the manner in which the money was got. That means to legalize extortion. Ten to one he won't. He may, though. He may take the bill in his own hand, and we may then be obliged to go to Europe and have a good time. Wasn't that it?"

B.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

M.—On whom then?

B.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

M.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

M.—"Is this way, before I can be convicted the Judge that charges the jury must place the stamp of legality upon the manner in which the money was got. That means to legalize extortion. Ten to one he won't. He may, though. He may take the bill in his own hand, and we may then be obliged to go to Europe and have a good time. Wasn't that it?"

B.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

M.—On whom then?

B.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

M.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

M.—"Is this way, before I can be convicted the Judge that charges the jury must place the stamp of legality upon the manner in which the money was got. That means to legalize extortion. Ten to one he won't. He may, though. He may take the bill in his own hand, and we may then be obliged to go to Europe and have a good time. Wasn't that it?"

B.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

M.—On whom then?

B.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

M.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

M.—"Is this way, before I can be convicted the Judge that charges the jury must place the stamp of legality upon the manner in which the money was got. That means to legalize extortion. Ten to one he won't. He may, though. He may take the bill in his own hand, and we may then be obliged to go to Europe and have a good time. Wasn't that it?"

B.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

M.—On whom then?

B.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

M.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

M.—"Is this way, before I can be convicted the Judge that charges the jury must place the stamp of legality upon the manner in which the money was got. That means to legalize extortion. Ten to one he won't. He may, though. He may take the bill in his own hand, and we may then be obliged to go to Europe and have a good time. Wasn't that it?"

B.—Just so, and that is no larceny upon the Union.

M.—On whom then?

B.—On nobody. Let me give you a few points on law. That was extortion. I extorted hard money from the contractor.

M.—What's the difference?

M.—A— of a difference. Difference means to acquire. Now I acquired the money. I stole a thing from the Union.

B.—Yes.

M.—To steal a thing from some one that person must have a legal title to it. Had the Union a legal title to what I wrongfully got from some one else?

B.—That's what I want to know.

B.—Can't he? M.—Who else is to be his witness? B.—Why, the contractors whom you extorted money from. M.—Ha! Ha! Ha! B.—How so? M.—You must be very innocent. Now, see here: Did you ever see a raft in an old wharfed building? B.—Lots of times. M.—Covered all over with vermin? B.—And the vermin walking over one another and pushing one another off so that they tumble down? B.—Yes. M.—Well, that's the way with them contractors, and I surmise, to judge from the stock quotations and failures elsewhere, that that's the way with the capitalists generally. They move on the ragged edge. The safety of the one is not only with the ruin of the other. They are like vermin hanging in a raft, that shows the other off and down. Now, then, contractors have again and again come to us, each wanting us to declare a strike on the other. And you, remember who "we" is? B.—Quite well. Some officers, a few dumplings of the rank and file on the floor and a few Social Democrats to whom it up for us as "mule wagers of the class struggle." M.—You got it. Well, we then, declare a strike against the sucker who offers the smallest wad. And we keep it up. And we report "strikes" settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. And that gets into the reports of the Labor Commissioner, and the contractors keep mum. And they must be sure, carries a dirk up his sleeve for the others. Now tell me, who is going to dare give evidence against us? Do you think a single . . . would

Here the dialogue breaks off suddenly. The sound waves on the plates become too confused to read. They seem to indicate that Murphy and Black were roaring aloud together, and that they both rolled off their campstools with a great clatter.

Unquestionably the dialogue—if only profanity were not so much interwoven in it—could be delivered as a lecture on Sociology and the Labor Movement in America. It is a fortunate thing that the wireless scientists had the good sense to send it to this office.

In December, 1901, John I. Blair, railroad magnate, Wall street broker and founder of Blairtown, N. J., had the daily papers herald throughout the United States that he would present the trustees of Princeton University with \$150,000 in railroad bonds, the income of which was to be used for the purpose of founding various chairs, etc., in the college.

When the date set in Mr. Blair's communication arrived a committee of three waited on the financier to receive the bequest, and one of its members was told off to read an address lauding the giver as a public spirited and philanthropic citizen, and inviting other rich men to be guided in the future by such acts and to emulate the same.

The committee got from Mr. Blair at his home a large package containing the bonds, which was opened a few days later in the presence of the faculty and friends of the institution, when, to the astonishment and disgust of the assemblage, it was found that the bonds represented a mortgage on a little property in the extreme western portion of the country, and whose securities would not fetch in the Wall street market 30 cents a pound. But this was not all. The bonds bore fifty-year coupons, and the wily old Blair had carefully clipped the coupons for forty years to come. In other words, Princeton got a gift with a string, that would last forty years, attached to it.

So much for our latter-day philanthropic capitalist saints.

The extent to which material interests move mankind is well illustrated in a news item that comes from Warsaw. In that city recently a banker died and left his entire fortune to whichever of his three nieces—daughters of three different brothers and sisters—married first. The parties interested in this provision were present when the will was read, and all of them took immediate steps to secure the prize. By procuring special licenses and taking other unusual measures it was found that the earliest possible time for a wedding to take place was at 8 o'clock on the morning of the tenth day after the will had been read. Before noon on that day all three nieces appeared at the notary's office with certificates showing that they had all become wives between 8 and 8.15 o'clock that morning, though not one of them had even been engaged when the will was read. All three claimed the fortune, and the courts solved the difficulty by dividing it into equal parts.

In the greatest city of the greatest country, where, as we are told, every one by industry and thrift can acquire a competence, the Charity Organization Society finds it necessary to renew its appeal for assistance in the following cases of need:

"For \$180 to pension a cultivated American couple, who are not eligible for admission to a home. The husband is 79 years of age. His wife is an invalid and subject to attacks of melancholia, which unfit her for work of any kind.

"For \$120 for the support of a respectable native couple. The husband is 85 years old and the wife is in poor health and unable to work. Their relatives, who are poor, are contributing as much as they are able."

President Roosevelt, whom we are told has a nice sense of humor, has at present three vessels of the navy at his personal service. The Mayflower, purchased from Ogden Golet at the time of the Spanish war, has been completely overhauled, refitted and refurbished in the most sumptuous manner, at great expense, for use as the President's yacht. The Sylph, almost as luxurious a vessel, is moored at Oyster Bay. The Dolphin is the third one of the President's vessels. All these are public property, used by the President for his private enjoyment. What is the difference between Teddy doing this, and the postal officials using postoffice affairs for private ends?

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—There was a Socialist Labor Party meeting the other day that should damn you Socialists forever in the eyes of the workers of this country.

UNCLE SAM—Did it fire bombs? B. J.—No; in favored the importation of pauper labor.

U. S.—You are mistaken; what it did was denounce the anti-immigration howl. B. J.—What is the difference?

U. S.—A good deal. This anti-immigration howl is a fraud on the people. B. J.—Do you call it a fraud on the people to relieve the labor market?

U. S.—That would not be a fraud; but to make believe one wants to relieve the labor market, and in that way gain the confidence of those in whose interest it is that the labor market be relieved, and armed with their confidence acquire power to overstock the labor market still more—that is the fraud.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear by initials under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## Systematic Work in California.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It has been suggested to me that a short account of our attempt to push our party press and literature into the unorganized districts of California might prove interesting and even encouraging to other comrades throughout the country who are, or ought to be, working to the same ends.

A short time ago our State Executive Committee entrusted me with a list of the California subscribers to The Weekly and Monthly People, with instructions to use it for the purpose of obtaining aid from sympathizers and isolated comrades in procuring subscriptions for The People and distributing the party literature. Our plan was to establish an agency in as many counties as possible and build up an organized corps of workers extending over the length and breadth of the State. This, however, must be the work of time.

To begin with, a circular letter was sent to the readers of The Weekly and Monthly People in localities where no sections exist. This circular was simply worded, explaining our plan and asking for support and advice. To facilitate the task of replying, a few questions were formulated relative to the reader's willingness and ability to aid in the work, the interest in Socialism displayed in their vicinity, etc. The answers came in slowly at first, but in time a not discouraging number of replies were received. All these, with the exception of a very few absolute refusals, were answered carefully and at length; subscription blanks were enclosed and the vital importance of increasing the circulation of The People was impressed upon all. All were also asked to undertake the distribution of a few of the free leaflets.

The next replies were fewer, but more earnest. Some subscriptions were sent in, and a few consented to try some of the free leaflets. These letters were immediately answered, and the State Committee forwarded the leaflets at once. More subscriptions came in and demands for more leaflets followed. Soon these new workers sent for bundles of the cheap pamphlets, and sold them, too. A few of the larger books were also disposed of in this way. But, best of all, we feel that new life is being infused into the movement in this State, and that the circulation of our party organ is increasing.

The subscription list is now being used in sending blanks to those whose subscriptions are about to expire. Old and new lists are also being compared, and polite letters of inquiry sent to all who have dropped out.

Of course, this takes time, but it is astonishing how much can be accomplished by a few hours a week of systematic work. In proportion to the necessity, the exertion required is small indeed. Although our results have as yet fallen far short of our aims, still enough has been done to encourage us to proceed, and also, I hope, to stimulate others who may wish to take up this kind of work in their own locality.

But our work in California has only just begun, and any advice, information or instruction from better organized States would be gratefully received. Fraternally,  
Jane A. Roulston.  
San Francisco, Cal., July 20, 1903.

## The Monthly Bears Fruit.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find postoffice order for six yearly and one half-yearly subscriptions to The Weekly People, and one yearly to The Monthly. The Weekly subscriptions are the fruits of The Monthly seed, plus lots of cultivation and hard work, but it's the only way. When a Monthly seed is sown and cultivated by the revolutionary hoe of the New York Labor News Company, in the shape of leaflets and pamphlets, it is quite sure to bring a subscription to The Weekly. The only way is to cultivate the soil of proletarian intelligence with class-conscious literature.

F. Kissell.

Omaha, Neb., July 24, 1903.

## Glass Workers Declare for S. T. &amp; L. A.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Word has just reached here that the American Flint Glass Workers, at their convention held in Cincinnati, O., adopted the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance declaration of principles. I will send further particulars when I receive the vote.

E. J. Dillon.

Marion, Ind., July 21.

## Development of Department Stores.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—In the article, "The Retail Clerks," that appeared in a recent issue of The People, attention was called to a rumor abroad that Wanamaker's new stores when completed will be doing business all day and late at night. This would eliminate what little chance there is for the middle class shopkeepers, on the lower East Side in particular, and when Wanamaker's idea of retailing on a large scale after 6 o'clock will be introduced by other stores of his caliber, it would have the effect of Paris green on cockroaches upon the middle class vermin.

"It's not so," was told me by some few clerks, who still imagine they can become capitalists. "It will never come to pass that a store of Wanamaker's size will do business on the style of small shopkeepers," said others. "Now comes a daily morning paper that is dependent

for its existence upon the advertisements of the department stores with a "pull," describing the magnitude of the new enterprise and bringing the news that the Astor place station of the new underground rapid transit will open directly in the Wanamaker store.

I would not be a bit surprised to find when going up or downtown in the very near future and in reaching Astor place to hear the conductors of the subway shout out: "Wanamaker's! Do your shopping here!"

Think of it, readers! An underground system of the capacity that we are about to have to dump its millions of passengers into a retail store of the Wanamaker size!

It was also told me by some that the department store could never grab up the stores that deal in men's furnishings, clothing, hats, shoes and other apparel for men. Because, as I must admit, and as I know from experience, men as a rule do not like to enter a shop and be waited upon by a woman. But what will prevent the large department stores able to have railroads enter into their establishments having a separate entrance—in fact, a store in itself, attached though it be to this other department and to a certain extent independent of all others. Things that only a few years ago seemed impossible are to-day living facts. Now, I ask all those employed in the retail business to realize what little chance they have of becoming business men themselves—I mean bosses. For heaven's sake, men, think of the impossibilities to become a business man by striving in the direction that your daddy used to. How much more better, more sensible, more practical, more sure of success it would be to direct your efforts for success of the Socialist Labor Party. The governmental powers once in our hands, it would be an easy matter to take possession of every economic function in society. Be a man, join the ranks of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. It will tell you how to act toward your boss so long as we have to put up with him. Join the Socialist Labor Party, and speed the day of our emancipation.

New York, July 25. N. O.

## "What Shall We Do to Be Saved?"

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Some of the Boston labor fakirs are very much disturbed because a movement against parading on Labor Day (the capitalists' Labor Day) seems to have broken out in the ranks of pure and simple. It is a well known fact that these parades, like the former St. Patrick's day parades, have nothing whatever to do with the emancipation of labor; in fact, even less than the Patrick's day parade had to do with the so-called freedom of Ireland. Both have been used by the fakirs as stepping-stones to political office and other graft.

A good hard rap should be administered to the unions which have voted not to parade on Labor Day. The day is distinctly the workingman's day—a day on which he can help to show the strength of the organization he belongs to. It is a cause for regret to see big, brawny union men voting against the proposition to parade. Whether or not they are physically able to walk through the streets or whether they are ashamed to be seen with the mighty vanguard can only be surmised.

The above paragraph is from the pen of the "Labor Editor" of one of the Boston dailies. No doubt the S. L. P. will continue to give, under the emblem of the Arm and Hammer, some good hard raps not to the labor unions refusing to parade as political-voting cattle, but to the well-headed labor fakirs and "Labor Editors," who are always ready to parade the "mighty vanguard of labor" providing the "dough" and political graft is in sight or in a "strong box."

## "What Shall We Do to Be Saved?"

Weep, brothers, weep; our sun sinks fast—  
Fakirism is doomed and grafting cannot last.

The Arm and Hammer men are after us always,  
And they've "horganized" a union—the S. T. & L. A.'s.

Weep, brothers, weep; men of stalwart arm and rugged brow,  
Who always followed us, refuse to do so now.

The night is now upon us, our finish we can see.  
Oh, Hanna! Hanna! save us from the fighting S. L. P.! —Non-Parader.

## Agitation in Bayonne.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Two more meetings, under the auspices of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, were held at Bayonne, N. J., on Monday evening, both on Twenty-second street—one at the corner of Avenue F and one at Avenue D; the former with Boland, of Jersey City, and Kinneally and French, of New York; the latter with Troy and Jackson, of Yonkers, Bohn, of Michigan, and Klamansky, of Bayonne.

The Avenue D meeting was largely attended, the audience remaining attentive for an hour and three-quarters, during which a quantity of literature was distributed. At the Avenue F meeting the audience was smaller, but equally attentive. S. L. P. pamphlets, S. T. & L. A. manifestos and Weekly Peoples were also distributed and a number of additional names secured of those who are willing to join the Alliance.

On Next Tuesday, August 4, another meeting will be held at Avenue D and Twenty-second street, to be followed by an organization meeting in a hall near Avenue F.

These meetings are being held for the purpose of obtaining a foothold for the

S. T. & L. A., and the S. L. P. as well, in this ultra-proletarian district, and the members of Section Hudson County should see to it that they are alive to their duty and help the good work along. This because the speakers at these meetings, while primarily seeking to establish an economic organization, are also doing the work of the political one, inasmuch as in their speeches they do not mince matters or try any "catching flies with molasses" tactics, preferring to give their hearers S. L. P. doctrine straight from the shoulder, explaining the principles and tactics of both, their relations to each other, the necessity of each supporting and being the ally of the other, etc., knowing that only men who are made to clearly understand what they are joining can be expected to be of any use in the building up of a class-conscious organization.

The establishing of a workingmen's Alliance will provide a good base from which to build a section of the S. L. P., and both should exist in every such industrial center. That the building of the economic organization is an absolute necessity goes without saying, unless we are willing to leave the workers to be roped into "unions" promoted by the labor fakirs of pure and simple, there to have their minds poisoned with false teaching and the work of reaching them with the revolutionary message of the S. L. P. rendered more difficult. There is discontent among the workers, and we should not leave the guiding of it to the "labor crooks," who will run it into the ground, but should rather take hold and help it assume a character that will make it a factor in the emancipation of the working class.

Thus it is up to the New Jersey comrades to assist in the work of agitation and organization in their State.

Bayonne, N. J., July 28, 1903.

## Be These Symptoms?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It seems that there is no city in the Union that is less often heard from as to local activity than Minneapolis. Whatever the cause of that may be, it certainly is not that there is no activity; because winter and summer, year by year, the section has been heard from, and that often in a manner that worries the various foes of the working class quite seriously.

The most favorite and lasting expression of these worries is the declaration that "Section Minneapolis is dead, gone and buried, and hence does no longer exist!" This generally comes from the Kangaroos, little and big, which locally have united in one grand and amorous embrace. Years ago I heard a story of a simpleton who was requested to bring something from a room where lay a corpse. He positively refused, for, said he, "It is so hideous to see corpses stare." Some such feeling must come over the local Kangaroos, when, in spite of four years of funeral services over the "dead" Section Minneapolis, S. L. P., it still continues to stare; yea, what is more, insists on stalking about in broad daylight and before all the world. Indeed, it must be hideous to meet a corpse that has so long been buried and yet have him stare!

All winter we held well-attended lectures every Sunday in the headquarters, and from the first of September, when the course began, to the last of May 1903 book and pamphlets were sold. Besides this, several thousand leaflets and every week 100 Weeklies and each month 250 Monthlies were distributed. With the month of June commenced the outdoor agitation. Regularly every Sunday night have the comrades been found on the corner of Washington and Nicolet avenues, half a block from the headquarters. Crowds, that have varied from 200 to 400, have given the closest attention to the speakers. Many intelligent questions have been asked and answered, and at such times the interest has run high. The irrepressible question of "the difference" has come up time and again and has been thoroughly explained, to the delight of some, to the agony of others. During the seven meetings 213 pamphlets have been sold, papers and leaflets have been distributed; especially has "The Difference" been much in evidence.

At the meeting two weeks ago a funny incident took place. After the crowd had been worked to a high pitch by the answers to several questions, particularly enjoying those given to a very capitalistic opponent, a Kangaroo wanted to know what we were going to do about it, seeing we are no longer in existence. The speaker had been so long on the box that his voice was giving out, so he bent down and whispered to another comrade to take charge of the Kang, and then stepped down. The Kang got jubilant and started to shout to the audience that the speaker was afraid to answer, and that, of course, was because he could not. "Don't fret yourself," said the other comrade, in a voice that bade silence to the Kang, as he stepped on the box, "you shall be answered. The speaker tells me his voice is giving out, and he has talked so long that it would not be surprising if he has already overcome it; but, nevertheless, you shall be answered, so be patient." He then told the audience that the so-called "Socialists," by the aid of some of their Democratic and Republican friends in the State Legislature, had secured the enactment of an amendment to the election law which they hoped would deprive us of our name. In this they may eventually succeed, but if they think they are half as glowing as they are jubilant they are much mistaken. They will never get the name to which we have the first right without the hardest legal contest, and they do well to remember that we in this State have

two Supreme Court decisions to make the fight before. By this time the crowd was jeering the Kang, who got desperate and shouted: "But there is a class struggle, and if you have not the name 'Socialist' you cannot be in the class struggle!" Somebody shouted back: "Never mind the name; the right thing is what we want, under any name!" The comrade on the stand then said, pointing defiantly to the Kangaroo: "It is quite possible that such as you may succeed in making Socialism so ridiculous that a sensible person may feel ashamed to call himself a Socialist. In the manner some so-called Socialists are acting it bids fair to come to that point. Utopian Socialism existed before Socialism was put on a scientific basis by Marx and Engels. Freaks galore were at one time advocating what they labeled Socialism, which, outside of utopian Socialism, properly was mixtures of anarchism, liberalism, atheism, middle-class muddle-headedness and sundry other things. When the first sound Socialist organization was launched, in 1847, it resented the taking of a name that had been thus degraded. Therefore, in order to be distinguished from freaks, that organization was called the Communist League, and the first scientific and class-conscious programme of the international working class was called the Communist Manifesto. Since then the scientific Socialists have succeeded in cleansing the name from the bad odor that then attached to it.

However, to-day, though Socialism has for over half a century been a science and there is no excuse for ignorance on the subject, the situation of Europe during the first half of the last century is in a manner repeating itself, and in the United States corruptionists and visionaries of every kind are doing their best to make Socialism ridiculous. Perhaps, to be distinguished from you, we may yet have to abandon the name Socialism. If so, you need not think we abandon the class struggle. You shall find us on every ballot at every election until it is ended, and that under a name by which it shall not be hard for the wage workers to distinguish us; and, furthermore, will the members of the Socialist Labor Party consider it their particular duty to upon every occasion let the workers know the cause for this confusion, and rest assured that by their work and action they will again succeed in making the name Socialism honored, as Marx and Engels and their disciples succeeded in Europe. Come what may, you may be sure you will hear from us, and that we are a force that will have to be reckoned with."

By this time Mr. Kang was more desperate and trying to save himself by being "witty," so he shouted: "Perhaps you will take the name Republican party!"

"Perhaps we will," said the speaker, coolly. "In Ireland they have the Irish Socialist Republican Party, and that is identical with the S. L. P. of the United States."

The audience laughed and applauded. An old workman, standing in front of the speaker, swung his hat over his head and cried, "Hurrah for the Socialist Labor Party!" in a dialect which indisputably betrayed a son of Erin. (Exit Kangaroo!)

The meeting yesterday was one of the most successful of the season. A crowd of from 200 to 300 listened for about two hours with the keenest attention to the speaker, and the interest that prevailed among the various groups after the meeting was closed showed that a deep impression had been made. \$2.50 worth of pamphlets were sold at this meeting alone.

After the meeting a young man came up to some of the comrades and said: "Say, some of you fellows ought to go up and talk to the workers at Smith's saw mill. That is a dreadful place. Last week there was a strike; ten men walked out, and their places were at once filled with others. They went out because they objected to Smith holding back 25 cents a day of their wages until the mill closes in the fall. Then they would get it all, if they stayed out the time; if not, they would lose it all." He added in a tone of indignation: "And that is the same Smith that wrote to King Oscar of Sweden and asked how much the famine in the north would cost, as he was ready to pay the whole thing!"

Just how this is, of course, know not; but both incidents are thoroughly characteristic of C. A. Smith, who has the reputation of being a type of capitalist philanthropy.

At the last business meeting "The Party Press" was instituted a special order of business for each meeting. The comrades here have come to realize that the best method of building up the party is through the press. Therefore, we may well hope for some more active and sympathetic work in the future.

Allitant.

Minneapolis, July 20, 1903.

## A Catholic to a Cardinal.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—If you feel like publishing the enclosed open letter you need not be afraid to put my name to it, because I mean all that is said in it.

S. Graham.

"An Open Letter to Cardinal Gibbons." "Reverend Dear Sir: By your remarks in some yellow newspapers last Sunday about labor and what the next Pope is going to do for the laboring class, one would imagine the church coming out and taking a firm stand against the capitalist robbers who pilfer four-fifths of the laborer's product. But no; the church is not going to do anything of the kind. The church, or at least a large sprinkling of its clergy, will follow the tactics of the labor 'misleader' and advocate a

"fair day's pay." How is the church going to measure what a fair day's pay is? when the church does not understand that "labor produces all wealth, and to labor alone does that wealth belong?"

"What silly-billy talk for a man of learning to give vent to. We, the working class, will yet put a stop to the robbery of our class by overthrowing capitalism and taking the governing power out of the hands of knaves and using it to our own benefit, instead of supporting a horde of parasites who never produce anything but misery. Most respectfully, an Irish Catholic, "S. J. Graham."

## LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

J. P. AUBURN, ME.—"Socialist money?" Have you read the S. L. P. pamphlet "Money"? If not, get it. In the meantime chew upon this passage from a work of Engels:

"It is not necessary to go a round-about way in order to ascertain the amount of social labor crystallized in a given product. Daily experience shows directly the requisite average. Society can easily calculate how many hours are contained in a steam engine, in a hectoliter of last year's wheat, in a hundred square meters of cloth of a certain quality. Society will, therefore, never dream of re-expressing these units of work—crystallized in the products and known to it directly and absolutely—by a merely relative, varying and insufficient measure [metallic money], formerly used by it as a makeshift that it could not get along without; a measure, moreover, which itself is a third product, instead of by their natural, adequate and absolute measure—time. . . . Society will have to organize the plan of production according to the means of production, under which category labor-power especially belongs. The various utilities of the several articles of use, balanced with one another and with the amount of labor necessary for their production, will in the end determine the plan. People settle matters a good deal more simply without the intervention of the celebrated 'money value.' No doubt metallic money is vile, but so because the capitalist or individual system of production, of which metallic money is an unavoidable consequence, itself is vile. Greenbackism, consequently, that is, its central idea of labor money, is irrational, because it proposes Socialist money before the establishment of Socialist production. The Greenbackers put the cart before the horse."

K. W. NEW YORK.—Can't tell exactly who is the present Editor of the Yiddish "Vorwaerts." They change so often. Guess it is David Michalowsky. He's called McClosky, for short.

M. S. NEW YORK.—The account that reached you from Sales on the De Leon meeting in Chicago early this year is correct. Dr. Dubin was the first questioner. His question was: "You said the Socialist party is a fakir party; it is not true that the S. L. P. is also a fakir party?" The answer was: "As a proof that the S. L. P. is no fakir party, you, Dr. Dubin, have found it advisable to get out quick before you were fired out."

F. W. CLEVELAND, O.—Look closely into yourself. What ailed you "until recently"? Mental indolence. It was the readiness to accept as true whatever the old Republican party claimed, and to consider honest whatever Republican you heard speaking that caused your mental vassalage to that party. Now, then, are you not ashamed of yourself that the moment you shook off that old mental indolence you fell into another? If you exert your mind, investigate the facts that the Socialist Labor Party alleges against the so-called Socialist or Social Democratic party, and then draw your own conclusions from the circumstance that that so-called Socialist party never produces any arguments but only vituperation against the S. L. P.; in short, if you again shake off your old mental indolence, you will discover that the Mamie Hayes combination of impudent, ignorant and impure squirts and place-hunters, who, only a few years ago were trying to palm off upon the workmen of Cleveland the gold brick of populism, with the same cocksure assurance that they are now trying to whoop it up for their "Socialist" party, and that they did so then, the same as they do now, by vilifying the S. L. P. for exposing their errors. You will find that the S. L. P. is the party for you.

F. O. H. MADISON, WIS.—Many of the authorities quoted in "Woman Under Socialism" are original English works, and of the others a considerable number can be had in English translations. A work is never properly digested without reading the works that the author read. Read those authorities quoted from or cited. It will be a liberal education in itself.

W. F. DENVER, COL.—There may be different opinions on the advisability of the S. L. P. issuing papers in foreign languages, like German. There can be no difference of opinion, however, on the good work done by the Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung. Take, for instance, its reproduction of Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire." It is no slight commentary on the movement in Germany that the book is out of print, is not read, is virtually unknown by the masses—to their serious harm. The Party's German members here are reading it, and not a few other Germans. And the effect will be felt.

G. LONDON, ENGLAND.—Shall notify comrades who may be taking trips to London.

C. P. SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—The "Appeal to Reason" is not owned by the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party. It is a private concern. Whether Wayland turned it into a stock corporation we know not. If the members of the Socialist party say their party owns it they say what is not true.

H. S. D. SACRAMENTO, CAL.—Let's have your street address; a letter addressed to you general delivery has been returned.

P. E. D. L. TROY, N. Y.—The intrinsic value of merchandise is the amount of labor crystallized in it, and requisite for its reproduction. Intrinsic value is a term interchangeable with exchange value, or, to be more accurate, intrinsic value is an absolute, exchange value, a relative expression of the same thing.

W. C. TACOMA, WASH.—(1) We know no more of Mrs. Margaret L. Shepherd than you know of her out there.

(2) Eckstein Bros' cigar factory has been given up.

F. F. AND G. A. R. MILWAUKEE, WIS.—You are rightly informed. The translation of the manifesto issued by the German Social Democratic party members of the Reichstag on opening the late campaign, and produced, with slight abridgements, in your "Social Democratic Herald," is the identical translation made for and published by "The People." In reproducing the translation without giving The People credit, your "Social Democratic Herald" committed an act of piracy, an act which typifies the moral strabismus of the "Social Democratic Herald" all the more strongly in view of its pretensions. Such piracy from The People is, however, nothing uncommon with the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party press. Least of all with the "Social Democratic Herald." Only a few years ago, a translation from the French was made for and published in "The People" of the two speeches of Guesdes and Jaures in the Lille debate. Your "Social Democratic Herald" (but pardon, 'tis not yours—'tis a private corporation; you are not responsible except to the extent that you put up with such an anomaly) took the Jaures speech bodily from "The People" without giving it credit; that is, pirated "The People's" translation. It sought to cover up its tracks by imputing the translation to a then S. L. P. member. But it thereby only put its foot more deeply in.

THE TRANSLATOR WHOM IT MENTIONED HAD NOT SPEECH, nor had his name been given in "The People" as the translator. Such is the mental and moral caliber of the "Social Democratic Herald."

J. McC. WOONSOCKET, R. I.—The Aldridge bill is indeed an ominous affair. It will be taken up in these columns, possibly before the extra session of Congress convenes.

W. W. NEW YORK.—What the Murphy trial has done in the matter is merely to furnish detailed particulars of things that, in general, had long been obvious. The Socialist Labor Party had been all along calling attention to them and warning the rank and file, despite the volumes of "scab" imprecations hurled at the Party for so doing by the fakirs and their dummies.

D. BUTTE, MONT.; S. R. CHICAGO, ILL.; T. P. CHICAGO, ILL.; T. P. J. LOUISVILLE, KY.; F. M. BARRE, VT.; D. M. F. WORCESTER, MASS.—Matter received.

## ENGLISH S. L. P. Pushes Its Propaganda Into the Heart of Proletarian London.

[From "The Socialist," Edinburgh, Scotland, organ of the Socialist Labor Party in Great Britain.]

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN EAST LONDON.

## Pursues a Vigorous Propaganda.

That the success or non-success of a movement depends upon the clearness with which it lays down its principles and the straightforwardness of its campaign is an axiom. Certainly that is the lesson to be learned from the position of Socialism in East London to-day. It would be difficult to find another great center where things are so backward and the workers so ignorant of those political truths that are of such vital importance to them. Yet, in the past there have been many significant signs tending to show that, given a straight lead against the enemies of their class, the voters of East London would occupy a foremost position in the struggle for the supremacy of the Red International; not so, however, for, unfortunately, those organizations which have professed to cater for the working classes have never yet considered principles of sufficient importance to discuss, and have simply devoted their energy (little enough in all conscience) to endeavoring, by the frequent use of the device of electioneering tricks, to get representation on certain local bodies. This in some instances has been accomplished, chiefly by the aid of a feigned and hypocritical interest and participation in the affairs of the parish pump, a careful regard for the feelings of the ratepayers and a lickspittle policy of receiving the support of anybody, provided the candidate's return be the result. The utter worthlessness of this kind of representation can be seen on an East Side Board of Guardians, when an S. D. F. Guardian, Mr. George Lansbury, protested against receiving a trade union deputation on the ground that the union was attempting to intimidate the board. The spectacle of a so-called Socialist treating the workers' right to depulize their representatives as intimidation would be amusing were it not such a contemptible display of treachery.

Education furnishes another useful object lesson of the futility of the "office-at-any-price" policy. Almost any Sunday morning one can hear Councillor A. T. Wramply (S. D. F.) expressing in the name of Socialism the meekest of middle-class ideas on local government, voicing the most reactionary of economic fallacies, and incidentally, in nearly every thing he does on the Council, betraying

the interests of the class he and his previous organization profess to serve. Herewith can be found a sample. Councillor Wramply is talking on the question of a 30-shilling minimum wage: "I think that this question has been brought up at a most inopportune moment; the estimates for the financial period have been passed, and the adoption of the resolution would upset the whole finances of the Council. Besides, if it were moved next year it would stand a better chance of getting carried." This gentleman's courage is on a par with the worthy South End Councillor, who recently, buying a copy of the Socialist from a lady member of the S. L. P., was seen to blusteringly hand it back, after his eye had caught the "Warning." To return, however, to Mr. Wramply. The nonsensical drivel quoted above is the public criticism of an S. D. F. Councillor on his colleagues of the S. D. F. on the same Council, who had given notice to move a 30-shilling minimum wage resolution. Can it be wondered at, in the face of such turpitude as this and the total disregard for party discipline involved, that the workers of London are in such a state of confusion as to which is the way in which lies their future happiness and ultimate victory as a class?

It was the recognition of these facts and the realization that the S. D. F. had no intention of arousing to class consciousness the wage slaves of East London, that the Belief Green Branch became a section of the only party in Great Britain that had any claim to working class support—viz., the Socialist Labor Party. It was because they recognized, as stated in their manifesto, that opportunism "invariably reduces" a party to political impotency, robs them of any worth they should possess as a fighting force, while inevitably producing such enemies of the cause of militant labor as Millard, Bernstein, Kier, Hardie and Lansbury that they set to work to perform the task that could not be accomplished in the ranks of an organization the governing authorities of which hindered and retarded every move in the direction of the propagation of class-conscious Socialism.

In pursuance of this policy, the East London S. L. P. have held a series of very successful meetings, the somewhat excited attitude of our opponents at our first meetings in Victoria Park showing pretty clearly that the blows of L. Colton, who rendered yeoman service, and myself had found a resting place. Among the questioners was a member of the S. D. F. Executive, whose somewhat ponderous attitude to prove that W. Thorne's public congratulation to W. Crooks, M. P., did not constitute support arouse the risible facilities of the audience. Four propaganda meetings are being held weekly, and as many more as the limited amount of speakers will allow of, and every effort is being put forth to rally the workers in this "smoke and fog beset" area beneath the banner of the S. L. P.

The formation of a Socialist party on even and straight lines is an enormous strike toward the goal. Never had a party such opportunities, and never had an oppressed class such a glorious future within its grasp. While the army of capital marches to its Waterloo, ours is the duty of educating and organizing our fellow wage-workers for the stirring times of the near future, when an enlightened and class-conscious democracy shall burst its chains and build up in the place of parasitism and wagedom the Socialist Republic of free men and women.

E. E. H.

## Cleveland, O., Picnic and Outing.

On Sunday, August 16, Section Cleveland will hold a picnic at Hahn's Grove, to which it cordially invites all local readers of The Daily and Weekly People. Hahn's Grove is an ideal place for an outing; it is beautifully situated on Lake Erie, about 12 miles west of the public square. Plenty of shade and fruit trees stud the landscape; all accommodations for a basket picnic, including benches, tables, nice lawns, etc., will be found there. For dancing and refreshments the committee in-charge has made all necessary arrangements. To those who enjoy aquatic sports it may be said that Hahn's Grove has a fine bathing beach. All you have to do is to bring your "toggery" with you.

Come out in the forenoon and spend all day with the Socialists of Cleveland in green nature. Admission to grounds is free. Tickets for transportation from Rocky River bridge to the grove can be secured from party members. Take Detroit street to Rocky River, then look about for party's ticket agent, who will sell you ticket and direct you to the Lake Shore electric car (Loraine suburban), which will take you direct to Hahn's Grove.

## One Day's Wage Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$150.05; E. Romary, Paterson, N. J., \$3; H. Spittal, Erie, Pa., \$2.75; L. Katz (balance), city, 50; S. Underleider, city, 2.30; L. Pearl, city, \$2.50; L. M. Wieder, city, \$2.50; S. Stiller, city, \$2; A. Rontz, city, \$3; M. Platzner, \$2; E. Field, city, \$2; A. Weiss, city, \$2; S. Moskowitz, city, \$3; M. Moskowitz, city, \$3; J. Tepper, city, \$2; H. Hoffman, city, \$5; S. Fried, city, \$3; T. Hout, city, \$1; Wm. Frieber, city, \$2; H. Gottlieb, city, \$2; A. Roos, city, \$2; J. Shaffer, city, \$2; R. Kossy, city, \$2; J. Sporn, city, \$2; J. Davidovitz, city, \$1.50; J. Frouck, city, \$1.50; M. Tanber, city, \$1; B. Block, city, \$1; S. Monigel, city, \$1; Charles Hillowitz, city, \$1; H. Knoblock, city, \$1; D. Boer, city, \$1; D. Simpson, city, \$2; from picnic, \$3 total, \$217.80



